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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

A European at the Court of the Great Mogul

BY

SIR THEODORE MORISON, K.C.L.R., etc.

FOR close upon a thousand years Islam and Christendom confronted each other with mutual mistrust and hostility; between the two commerce either of goods or ideas was scanty and fitful; each built up from native material a distinct and characteristic civilisation and each lived its own life ignorant and indifferent of the other. But by the sixteenth century this ignorance began to give way; through the development of navigation, the people of Europe became more mobile and began to spread beyond their own frontiers. While some steered West to hunt the legendary Eldorado, others rounded the Cape of Good Hope in quest of the more authentic wealth of Ormus and of Ind. By the beginning of the seventeenth century reports circulated in London, Paris and Amsterdam of a mighty prince living in India, known as the Great Mogul; he was said to be as magnificent as Solomon in his glory, to be liberal of largesse to foreigners and to offer security for trade throughout his wide dominions. It is no wonder that these reports stirred the blood of the gallants in England and the Low Countries. A number of adventurous spirits took ship to try their fortune in India and of these a good few have left us an account of their travels. These narratives are of very unequal value; checking them by the Indian histories, memoirs and private letters which are our staple authorities for this period, we can often convict these writers of ignorance or carelessness or credulity, but in one

respect their reports are of unique interest. They show us what impression Asiatic society made upon a traveller from Europe; by looking as it were through their eyes we can establish some comparison between the civilisations of Islam and Christendom and form some estimate of their relative excellence. The impression which I derive from reading their writings is that these Europeans of the seventeenth century found in India a state of society which, though very different from their own in many of the externals of life was yet in essentials but little, if at all, inferior to that with which they had been familiar in Europe. I propose to submit some of the evidence which leads me to this conclusion. I had originally intended to make a selection of passages from several authors; but, though I could thus have produced a very flattering picture of Mogul India, it would not have been an accurate presentation of average opinion. I shall, I believe, convey a fairer impression by confining myself to one author.

Of all the Europeans who have left us an account of their travels in India in the seventeenth century, the most trustworthy in my opinion is a Frenchman, Francois Bernier. Bernier was a doctor of medicine of the University of Montpellier; he had studied under the philosopher Gassendi, whom he tended in his last illness and for whom he entertained a deep veneration; on his return from India, Bernier was admitted into the brilliant circle of writers who adorned the reign of Louis XIV. He was the friend of Racine, Boileau and La Fontaine; Saint Evremont, with whom he corresponded on terms of intimacy, thought highly of him and used to declare that Bernier by his bearing, manners and conversation justly deserved the title of 'the handsome philosopher.' Without fatiguing you by more evidence I feel justified in asserting that Bernier was familiar with all that was best in the European civilisation of his day. His claims to be accepted as a competent witness of the condition of India are equally solid. Soon after his arrival in the kingdom of the Great Mogul, he took service under one of the great ministers of the Indian Crown, Daneshmand Khan, who held an appointment analogous to that of Minister of Foreign Affairs. As his title implies, Daneshmand Khan was a highly cultivated man and through him Bernier had access to the most polished society of Delhi and Agra. He read and spoke Persian, which was then the language of polite society and it is clear that he took pains to collect accurate information. As he lived in India for

about twelve years continuously and was exceptionally well placed for ascertaining the truth about the Mogul Court, I cite him as our most trustworthy witness of the state of Indian Society in the seventeenth century. He is a particularly valuable witness in this that his education and philosophic habit of mind enabled him to judge of men and things Indian on their merits, free from that national prepossession which warped the vision of too many European travellers.

While Bernier was yet in India (in July 1683) he wrote a letter to Mons. de la Mothe le Vayer which begins with these words:—

‘I know that your first inquiries on my return to France will be respecting the capital cities of this Empire. You will be anxious to learn if Delhi and Agra rival Paris in beauty, extent and number of inhabitants.’ That is the very question which I myself would have wished to put to Bernier, and his letter constitutes the best comparison I know of the civilisations of Europe and India at this period. He begins at once with an intelligent observation: ‘In tresting of the beauty of these towns I must premise that I have sometimes been astonished to hear the contemptuous manner in which Europeans in the Indies speak of these and other places. They complain that the buildings are inferior in beauty to those of the Western world, forgetting that different climates require different styles of architecture, that what is useful and proper at Paris, London and Amsterdam would be entirely out of place at Delhi; insomuch that, if it were possible for any one of those great capitals to change places with the metropolis of the Indies, it would become necessary to throw down the greater part of the city and to rebuild it in a totally different plan. Without doubt, the cities of Europe may boast great beauties; these, however, are of an appropriate character, suited to a cold climate. Thus Delhi also may possess beauties adapted to a warm climate.’ He then proceeds to give a description of the plan and furniture of a private house in Delhi, the layout of the town and some of the principal public buildings; comparing Delhi with Paris he calls attention to points of likeness and difference, and like a sensible traveller makes a note of these peculiarities which could, usefully, be adopted in his own country. He says, for instance, that a certain karavansera was in the form of a large square with arcades ‘like our Place Royale,’ that it was the rendezvous of the rich Persian, Uzbek, and other foreign merchants, who in general might be accommodated with empty cham-

bers, in which they remained with perfect safety, the gate being closed at night, and he goes on to say 'If in Paris we had a score of similar structures, distributed in different parts of the city, strangers on their first arrival would be less embarrassed than at present to find a safe and reasonable lodging. They might remain in them a few days until they had seen their acquaintance and looked out at leisure for more convenient apartments.'

Our artistic sympathies have broadened since the seventeenth century and we do not need to be told that the Mogul buildings are not inferior in beauty to those of the Western world. We know that the Great Mosque and the Palace of Shah Jehan at Delhi and the Taj Mahal at Agra are among the most beautiful things which the hands of men have made and in the blindness of our ancestors to the glory of Mogul architecture we see an illustration of the humiliating truth that the majority of men cannot see beauty until it is pointed out to them. Every globe-trotter has heard before he sees it that the Taj is one of the wonders of the world and when he beholds the marble dome rising out of the romantic garden he experiences the emotion foretold him. But Bernier saw the Taj soon after it was finished and if his admiration sounds to us oddly halting and hesitating he does in the end recognize its surpassing beauty. As an illustration I will quote what he says of the Gateway which leads into the garden at the Taj Mahal.

'This pavilion is an oblong square and built of a stone resembling red marble, but not so hard. The front seems to me longer and much more grand in its construction than that of St. Louis in the rue St. Antoine and it is equally lofty. The columns, the architraves and the cornices are, indeed, not formed according to the proportion of the five orders of architecture so strictly observed in French edifices. The building I am speaking of is of a different and peculiar kind; but not without something pleasing in its whimsical structure; and in my opinion it well deserves a place in our books of architecture. It consists almost wholly of arches upon arches and galleries upon galleries disposed and contrived in a hundred different ways. Nevertheless the edifice has a magnificent appearance and is conceived and executed effectually. Nothing offends the eye; on the contrary it is delighted with every part and is never tired with looking. The last time I visited Taj Mahal's mausoleum I was in the company of

a French merchant, who as well as myself thought that this extraordinary fabric could not be sufficiently admired. I did not venture to express my opinion, fearing that my taste might have become corrupted by my long residence in the Indies and as my companion was come recently from France, it was quite a relief to my mind to hear him say that he had seen nothing in Europe so bold and majestic.' Bernier had no doubt been brought up in that artistic school which ultimately found expression in the formal symmetry of Versailles; it dominated the age of Louis XIV and made even the well-disciplined Mme. de Maintenon exclaim impatiently 'We must die in symmetry.' Bernier could never quite free his mind from those five orders of architecture; they bothered him when beholding another of the great buildings of Shah Jehan, the Great Mosque at Delhi. I grant, he says, 'that this building is not constructed according to those rules of architecture which we seem to think ought to be implicitly followed; yet I can perceive no fault that offends the taste;' and he proceeds to give it the praise it deserves.

But I must not leave you with the impression that Bernier thought that Delhi rivalled Paris or Amsterdam. He specially warns his correspondent against coming to any such conclusion.

'You need not quit Paris,' he writes, 'to contemplate the finest, the most magnificent view in the world, for assuredly it may be found on the Pont-neuf. Place yourself on that bridge during the day and what can be conceived more extraordinary than the throngs of people and carriages, the strange bustle, the various objects by which you are surrounded? Visit the same spot at night and what, I fearlessly ask, can impress the mind like the scene you will witness? The innumerable windows of the lofty houses seen from the bridge exhibit their chastened and subdued lights while the activity and bustle observable in the day seem to suffer no diminution at night. There honest citizens and what never happens in Asia—their handsome wives and daughters perambulate the streets without apprehension of quagmires or thieves. . . . Yes my friend when you are on the Pont-neuf at Paris you may boldly aver on my authority that your eyes behold the grandest of all the artificial scenes in the world, excepting possibly some parts of China and Japan which I have not visited.' And Bernier sums up in these words 'I may say without impartiality and after making every allowance for the beauty of Delhi, Agra and

Constantinople that Paris is the finest, the richest, and altogether the first city of the world."

So much for what Bernier has to tell us of the physical aspect of Delhi, what of the society which he found there? Did he find in India any one as learned as his master Gassendi? Could any circle in Delhi compensate him for the conversation of La Rochefoucault or St. Evremont? On this point Bernier does not attempt a precise comparison and unfortunately for us he is not often anecdotal; but scattered through his books and letters there are occasional reports of conversations from which we gather that there was sometimes interesting and animated talk at the Court of the Great Mogul. I imagine that Bernier's employer, Daneshmand Khan, had a pretty wit. As an illustration of the extravagant politeness, or as Bernier calls it, the fawning mode of address observed in India, he tells this story. "A Brahmin Pandit, or Gentle doctor whom I introduced into my Agah's service would fain pronounce this panegyric; and after comparing him to the greatest conquerors the world has ever known and making for the purpose of flattery a hundred nauseous and impertinent observations he concluded his harangue in these words uttered with all conceivable seriousness "When, my Lord, you place your foot in the stirrup, marching at the head of your cavalry, the earth trembles under your footsteps; the eight elephants on whose heads it is borne, finding it impossible to support this extraordinary pressure." The conclusion of this speech produced the effect that might have been expected. I could not avoid laughing, but I endeavoured, with a grave countenance to tell my Agah whose visibility was just as much excited, that it behoved him to be cautious how he mounted on horseback and created earthquakes which often caused so much mischief. "Yes, my friend," he answered without hesitation, "and that is the reason why I generally choose to be carried in a Palkey." Daneshmand Khan was of course laughing at his own indolence, but the man who could thus easily toss back the ball of conversation might not have been unwelcome in the salon of La Rochefoucault and Mme. de Sévigné."

In Delhi as at Versailles the monarch fills a large place in any picture of the society of the time; it was therefore inevitable that most of Bernier's anecdotes should be reports of the sayings of Aurangzeb. Here is one.

'It was about this period that one of the most distinguished Omrahs ventured to express to Aurangzeb his fear lest his incessant occupations should be productive of injury to this health. The King affecting not to hear turned from his sage adviser and advancing slowly towards another of the principal Omrahs, a man of good sense and literary acquirements, addressed him on the following terms. The speech was reported to me by the son of that Omrah, a young physician and my intimate friend.

'There surely can be but one opinion among you learned men, as to the obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life and if necessary to die sword in hand in defence of the people committed to his care. Yet this good and considerate man would fain persuade me that the public weal ought to cause me no solicitude; that in devising means to promote it, I should never pass a sleepless night nor spare a single day from the pursuit of some low and sensual gratification. According to him I am to be swayed by considerations of my own bodily health and chiefly to study what may minister to my personal ease and enjoyment. . . . It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult, nor are these to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority and the security of the State. . . . Go tell thy friend that if he be desirous of my applause he must acquit himself well of the trust reposed in him, but let him have a care how he again obtrudes such counsel as it would be unworthy of a king to receive.'

This speech might be compared with the picture of himself which Louis XIV painted in his memoirs for the admiration of posterity, but the comparison would be wholly to the advantage of Aurangzeb. He at least never thought of himself with the fatuous self-complacency which led Louis XIV to say, 'There are certain of our functions in which, filling as it were the place of God, we seem to partake of his knowledge as well as of his authority, as for instance in the appreciation of character, the distribution of appointments and the granting of favours and pardons.' The just remarks which follows such overweening arrogance decreed that those should be the very functions in the discharge of which Louis XIV most signally failed. Aurangzeb had the advantage of Louis XIV in another respect; he was much the better educated man of the two; though his favourite

study was an illiberal theology he had read widely and possessed a breadth of information beyond our expectations; none the less he trounced his old preceptor severely for the insufficiency of his tuition; he complained for instance that his preceptor had taught him that the whole of Europe (Frangistan) was no more than some inconsiderable island of which the most powerful Monarch was formerly the King of Portugal, then he of Holland and afterwards the King of England. Aurangzeb denounced the philosophy he had been taught in particularly scathing terms, 'During several years you harassed my brain with idle and foolish propositions, the solution of which yields no satisfaction to the mind . . . wild and extravagant reveries conceived with great labour and forgotten as soon as conceived.' Bernier seems to have particularly relished this part of his discourse for he interpolates 'Their philosophy abounds with even more absurd and obscure notions than our own.'

Bernier refers in another passage to the store Aurangzeb set upon the right education of princes 'No person' he says, 'can be more alive than Aurangzeb to the necessity of storing the minds of princes, destined to rule nations, with useful knowledge. As they surpass others in power and elevation, so ought they, he says, to be pre-eminent in wisdom and virtue.'

As might have been expected from his manly character, Bernier was disgusted at the fulsome flattery which was lavished on the Great Mogul by his courtiers and he quoted with satisfaction a Persian couplet, known he says to every one at Delhi,

Should the King say that it is night at noon
Be sure to cry, Behold, I see the moon

which shows at least that Aurangzeb's courtiers knew what rank hypocrites they were. I wonder what Bernier thought when he returned to France and listened to the adulation poured on Louis XIV, of whom it has been said that his appetite for flattery was only equalled by the eagerness of his courtiers to serve it to him. I suspect that both at Delhi and Versailles the conduct of the courtiers was about the same; they flattered the king outrageously to his face and laughed at their own insincerity behind his back. Everybody, including the monarch, knew that this was done. One day Louis XIV was playing at trictrac; a doubtful stroke was played; a dispute

arose; all the courtiers kept silence. As the Comte de Grammont came up the king called out to him, 'decide between us'. 'It is you, Sir, who are wrong' said the Comte. 'And how can you say I am in the wrong' asked the king 'when you don't even know what is in dispute'. 'Ah Sir, do you not see that if the matter had even been as much as doubtful all these gentlemen would have said you were in the right.'²

There is one feature of Indian society which Bernier castigates unsparingly whenever an occasion offers and that is the widespread belief in astrology. In the *Evenemens Particuliers* he writes, 'The majority of Asiatics are so infatuated in favour of Judicial Astrology that according to their phraseology no circumstance can happen below which is not written above. In every enterprise they consult their astrologers. . . . This silly superstition is so general an annoyance and attended with such important and disagreeable consequences that I am astonished it has continued so long.' In his letter to de la Mothe le Vayer Bernier is more detailed and picturesque; after describing the royal square at Delhi he proceeds 'Here, too, is held a bazaar or market for an endless variety of things; which like the Pont-Neuf of Paris is the rendezvous for all sorts of mountebanks and jugglers. Hither, likewise, the astrologers resort, both Muhammedan and Gentile. These wise doctors remain seated in the sun on a dusty piece of carpet, handling some old mathematical instruments and having open before them a large book which represents the signs of the zodiac. . . . They tell a poor person his future for a *pekis* (which is worth about one *seh*) and after examining the hand and face of the applicant, turning over the leaves of the large book and pretending to make certain calculations, these impostors decide upon the Sâlet or propitious moment of commencing the business he may have in hand. Silly women, wrapping themselves in a white cloth from head to foot flock to the astrologers, whisper to them all the transactions of their lives and disclose every secret with no more reserve than is practised by a scrupulous penitent in the presence of her confessor. The ignorant and infatuated people really believe that the stars have an influence which the astrologers can control. . . . I am speaking (here) only of the poor bazaar astrologers. Those who frequent the court

² Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ch. xxviii.

of the *grandeess* are considered by them eminent doctors and become wealthy. The whole of Asia is degraded by the same superstition. Kings and nobles grant large salaries to these crafty diviners and never engage in the most trifling transaction without consulting them.'

That this indictment is true enough we know from Indian histories and memoirs. But was Europe in the seventeenth century much wiser? Voltaire uses almost the same language as Bernier when describing the state of France in the age preceding the accession of Louis XIV. 'Astrologers were consulted and believed in. All the memoirs of that time, beginning with the History of the President de Thou, are full of predictions. The grave and austere Duc de Sully records in all seriousness those which were made to Henry IV. This credulity, the most infallible sign of ignorance, had such currency that care was taken to have an astrologer hidden close to the bedroom of the Queen Anne of Austria at the moment of the birth of Louis XIV. . . . The weakness of mind which gave currency to this absurd fancy, of judicial astrology, led people to believe in demoniacal possession and magic charms.' And Voltaire tells us that in one year (1609) 600 persons were condemned for witchcraft within the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Bordeaux and most of them were burnt.

When in 1670 Bernier returned to France he must have been saddened to find how small had been the progress of rationalism even among his most educated countrymen, 'all the philosophy of the celebrated Comte de Boulainvilliers' according to Voltaire 'never cured him of this absurd folly.' Voltaire accounted Boulainvilliers the most learned gentleman of the kingdom in history and adds that in spite of his weakness for Judicial Astrology he was a philosopher. I dare say that Bernier knew well enough the hold that superstition had on his countrymen and perhaps did not intend us to conclude that they were superior in this respect to the Indians; the truth is that in his denunciations of astrology in Delhi we are not listening to the voice of the judicious traveller, but of the pupil of Gassendi; of the palladin of Rationalism who smote this mediæval superstition wherever it showed its horrid head, whether on the Pont-neuf or the great Maidan of Delhi. But we should bear in mind the state of contemporary opinion in Europe or we shall do less than justice to India in the seventeenth century.

The most noticeable difference between the society of Europe and India was due, of course, to the seclusion of women in the East. Bernier, we can infer, felt keenly the want of feminine society while he was in Delhi. The thought of the *Pont-neuf* is enough to remind him that there the handsome wives and daughters of the citizens perambulate the streets and this never happens in Asia. He made attempts to see them and mentions an artful stratagem by which he was able to see the faces of a few in Lahore. He would follow in the rear of a royal elephant as it passed down the narrow streets, its silver bells tinkling and the brocade-d housing awaying as it moved, the women in the upper storey would fling their lattices open and lean forward to gaze at the splendid beast—all unconscious of the artful Bernier who was staring at them from the street below. In Kashmir he devised another method in concert with an old pedagogue, well known in the town, with whom he read the Persian poets. 'I purchased' he says, 'a large quantity of sweetmeats and accompanied him to more than fifteen houses to which he had freedom of access. He pretended I was his kinsman lately arrived from Persia, rich and eager to marry. As soon as he entered a house he distributed my sweetmeats among the children and then everybody was sure to flock around us, the married women and the single girls, young and old, with the two-fold object of being seen and receiving a share of the present. The indulgence of my curiosity drew many rupees out of my purse, but it left no doubt in my mind that there are as handsome faces in Kashmir as in any part of Europe.'

Like almost all travellers from the West Bernier was intensely curious to know what passed inside the walls of the zenana. To most Europeans the word *zenana* appears to fire a train of lascivious imagery and they straightway fancy all kinds of naughty doings; having observed correctly enough that most of the domestic work is done by women in the East, as in the West, they proceed at once to the unwarranted assumption that all the housemaids in a Muhammadan family are the master's concubines. Bernier's intimacy with Muhammadan society saved him from this gross error, but he would not have satisfied the taste of his age had he not told us some tittle-tattle about the ladies of the Palace at Delhi. He relates two stories about the eldest daughter of Shah Jehan, the sister of Aurangzeb, which need not detain us, for they are worthless,

merely bazaar gossip, but Bernier prefaces them with an observation which is plainly true and perhaps worth recording 'Love adventures are not attended with the same danger in Europe as in Asia. In France they only excite merriment; they create a laugh and are forgotten; but in this part of the world, few are the instances in which they are not followed by some dreadful and tragical catastrophe;' and the two stories Bernier tells do in fact end in violent death.

I hope I shall not be thought guilty of defending a perverse paradox when I maintain that in the seventeenth century the Court of the Great Mogul was, as regards the relation of the sexes, not only outwardly more decent but intrinsically more moral than the Courts of France or England. The outward decorum of the Indian Court was perhaps an inevitable result of the seclusion of women. As no lady could appear in public, the only women to be seen were the dancing girls, called by Bernier *Kuchkas*, it is about these women that he tells the only authentic story which has the least flavour of scandal and oddly enough the chief actor in this tale is a European. There resided at the Court of Jehangir (Aurangzeb's grandfather) a French doctor named Bernard: 'This man,' says Bernier, 'disregarded the value of money; what he received with one hand he gave away with the other; so that he was much beloved by everybody, especially by the *Kuchkas* on whom he lavished vast sums. Among the females of this description, who nightly filled his house was a young and beautiful damsel remarkable for the elegance of her dancing, with whom our countryman fell violently in love; but the mother . . . never for a moment lost sight of her daughter and she resisted all the overtures and innocent solicitations of the court physician.' While in despair of obtaining the object of his affections Jehangir, at the Hall of Audience, once offered him a present before all the Omrahs by way of recompense for an extraordinary cure which he had effected in the Seraglio. 'Your Majesty,' said Bernard, 'will not be offended if I refuse a gift so magnificently offered, and implore that in lieu thereof Your Majesty would bestow on me the young *Kuchka* now waiting with others of her company to make the customary *salem*.' The whole assembly smiled at the refusal of the present, and at a request so little likely to be granted, he being a Christian and the girl a Muhammadan and a *Kuchka*; but Jehangir, who never felt any religious

scruples, was thrown into a violent fit of laughter, and commanded the girl to be given to him. 'Lift her on to the physician's shoulders' he said, 'and let him carry the *Kechaks* away! No sooner said than done! In the midst of a crowded assembly the girl was placed on Bernard's back who withdrew triumphantly with his prize and took her to his house.'

Bernier tells us that the austere Aurangzeb frowned upon 'the antics and follies' of the *Kechaks* and forbade them the private apartments of the palace, 'but complying with long established usage does not object to their coming every Wednesday to the Hall of Public Audience, where they make their *salams* from a certain distance and then immediately retire.'

Such gravity would certainly not have been to the taste of French or English Society, all the European memoirs of that time abound with anecdotes far more audacious than that of Bernard and the young *Kechaks*; I fancy that Tallemant des Réaux would have thought it far too insipid to deserve a place in his collection of *Histoires*.

How slight were the restraints imposed by decorum upon our ancestors in the seventeenth century you may learn from the pages of Brantôme or Pepys but so frank are these authors that it is impossible now a days to quote them textually.

Outward decorum does not of course always connote a high standard of behaviour and the relative ethics of Europe and India at this date must remain a matter of opinion; only with regard to the sovereigns do we possess sufficiently detailed information to make a precise comparison and neither continent would I imagine care to be judged by the behaviour of its monarch; certainly France and England have little to hope from concentrating attention on the conduct of Louis XIV and Charles II. A juster opinion could be based upon the behaviour of the courtiers and noblemen did we know as much about the private life of Delhi as we do of Paris and London. In one respect the available records reveal a marked difference of outlook which is perhaps worth considering. Nowhere in Mogul history can I find a parallel to the joyful alacrity with which the noblemen of France and England sacrificed the honour of their daughters to the king's pleasure. In both European countries they eagerly sought the opportunity of so doing; at an age when in our opinion they should still have been at school young girls were sent to Versailles or Whitehall to make their

fortunes at Court; and Saint Simon tells us that in numerous cases the avowed hope of their parents was that their girl might win the big prize and become the king's mistress. Nor was the moral standard of England one whit more severe. When Arabella Churchill became the mistress of James, Duke of York, Macaulay says that the only feeling of her parents 'seems to have been joyful surprise that so homely a girl should have attained such high preferment.'¹

Public opinion in Europe was hardly less complaisant when the king's fancy fell upon a married woman. When the father of the Marquis de Montespan heard of the love of Louis XIV for his daughter-in-law, he is said to have exclaimed 'God be praised; now Fortune is beginning to enter our house.' In the next century a strange light was thrown upon the ethical standards of our ancestors when Louis XV proposed to take as his mistress Madame d'Etioles, afterwards famous as the Marquise de Pompadour. The indignation of the nobility was then deeply moved, but it was not because the lady was already married but because she was not of noble blood. 'It seemed' as St. Beuve maliciously remarks 'that to become the king's mistress the first condition was to be a lady of quality and the coming of Madame Lenormant d'Etioles, of Mademoiselle Poisson, as *maîtresse-en-titre* of the king created a complete revolution in the habits of the Court. The Mauropas and the Richelieus were outraged at the idea that a commoner, a grisette as she was called, should usurp the power hitherto reserved for the daughters of the aristocracy'.

There is not to my knowledge any evidence that complaisance was ever carried to this length at the Court of Delhi. There is as much evidence as you like that many of the Moghul Emperors indulged in every kind of sensual excess, but not that the Moghul grandees encouraged their sovereign to gratify his passions at the expense of their own wives and daughters, and that is the only claim I make on behalf of Indian society.

I have tried by an examination of the evidence of Bernier to leave you with the impression that Delhi in the seventeenth century did not compare unfavourably with Paris and London. If a student of comparative sociology could have travelled through India and Europe and produced an impartial report I do not know to which continent he

¹ *History of England*, ch. iv.

would have given the palm. I suspect that he would have said that valuable elements of civilisation existed in both regions and that the peaceful development of both societies would enrich the world with a variety of culture. *Dia aliter visum*. The cultivated society that gathered about the throne of the Great Mogul was submerged in the hideous anarchy of the eighteenth century and a hundred years later India began to ascend the path of progress under other leaders and another inspiration.

The Great Civil War of Vijayanagara of 1614-1618

BY

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1. Alexander the Great is said to have exclaimed before his death that his funeral would be a bloody one. He foresaw the fratricidal war that actually broke out among his generals just after his death. The same could have been said by Veñkaṭa II before breathing his last. In fact the Portuguese Viceroy had foreseen the civil war several years before¹ and Prince Raṅga himself had vainly renounced his rights on Veñkaṭa II's death-bed as he was not willing to become the cause of blood-shed.² This second volume will commence with an account of this great civil war, compared by the *Ramavaliyama* to the Mahābhārata war.³ After it the Vijayanagara Empire will be but a shadow of what it had been during great Veñkaṭa's lifetime.⁴ Prince Raṅga, in spite of his remonstrances, was rightly proclaimed king by his dying uncle Veñkaṭa, and duly acknowledged by the nobles present at the touching ceremony.⁵ Accordingly, the *Ragannaṭaśaṅkhyudeyaṇa* records that after Veñkaṭa II's death all the officers raised Sri Raṅga Rāya to the throne.⁶ It seems, however, that from the first moment not all the nobles recognized the new sovereign; for Fr. Barradas explicitly records that 'all came to him (Sri Raṅga) to offer their allegiance except three,' and after mentioning them he adds: 'they joined together and swore never to do homage to the new king, but

¹ From Philip III to the Viceroy Don Lourenço de Tavora, Lisbon, February 21, 1610, *Bolhao Paço, Documentos*, I, p. 289, from Philip III to the Viceroy Lisbon, March 7, 1613, *J.H.R.I.*, M.S. section.

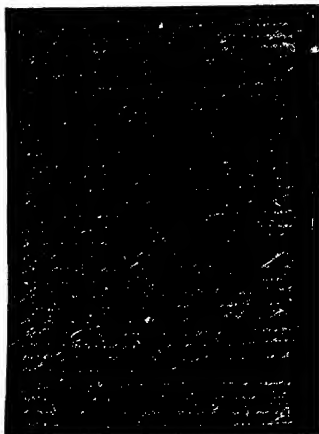
² Cf. Heras, *The Aravali Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, ch. xxiv, No. 7.

³ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 244.

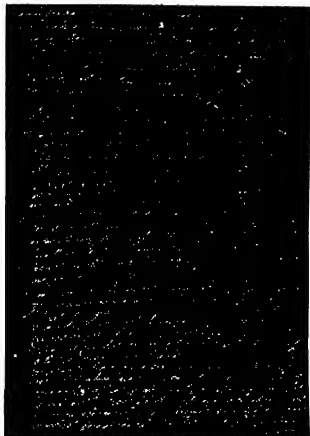
⁴ Burnell, *South Indian Palaeogeography*, p. 88, note, calls Veñkaṭa II 'the last of his race.' He died childless, indeed, but his successors belonged to the same family.

⁵ Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*

⁶ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 267.



Two pages of the Portuguese account of the civil war of Vijayanagara found in Bevel, *The Forgotten Empire*, pp. 222-31. It was probably written by Fr. pages the death of Venkaja II and the beginning of the reign of Ranga II are



the Jesuit Archives, slightly different from the 'Story of Barradas', published by Manoel Barradas, Provincial of the Jesuit Province of Malabar. In these two narrated,

on the contrary, to raise in his place the putative son of the deceased king.¹

The new Emperor of Vijayanagara, Raṅga II, was married to one Obamma, the daughter of Jihāṇa Narasimha.² The *Rāmavāṇyaṃ* mentions five children of this union: Rāma Dēva Rāya, who had to succeed him, Śiṅga, Rayappa, Ayyana, and Channa.³ Fr. Barradas also refers to five children, three sons and two daughters, and according to him Rāma was the second son.⁴ Again, the Utsav grant of Raṅga III speaks of this Rāma as a son among others of Raṅga Rāya (II), and grandson of Rāma Rāya, the brother of Veṅkaṭa (II).⁵

We have not been able to gather much information about Raṅga II's rule. The Kundiur plates of the time of Veṅkaṭa III call him 'famous'.⁶ In fact, Queyrox tells us that 'he was a prudent man',⁷ and his renunciation of his rights seems to confirm this statement. Anyhow the same Queyrox informs us of a fact that shows some lack of prudence in Government affairs. Sri Raṅga had, before his enthronement, been in Tanjore, where he made the acquaintance of several Balalas of Jaffanapatam. These Balalas were appointed to various posts of Government shortly after his succession. This was the cause of much discontent among the nobles of the court, who naturally disliked to be ruled by foreigners.⁸ Barradas mentions likewise another fact that undoubtedly spread dissatisfaction in the

¹ *Relação de certos sucesos*. A photograph of this document is in 'The St. Xavier's College Indian Historical Research Institute', Bombay, MS. section. I found in the Jesuit Archives this account of the civil war of 1634 similar to the one entitled by Sewall 'The Story of Barradas.' This Barradas was Fr. Manuel Barradas, Provincial for a time of the Jesuit Province of Malabar. The account I referred to does not mention Fr. Barradas at all. But since the other copy of the *Três de Trás-os-Montes*, Lisbon, is said to be written by him, I have no doubt about the authorship of this. The slight differences between this copy of the Jesuit Archives and the translation given by Sewall seem to be only mistakes of the translator. I followed Sewall's version, excepting when reaching these passages.

² *Rāmavāṇyaṃ*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 264.

³ *Ibid.* Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, A.D. 1511-1529*, p. 126.

⁴ *Relação*, loc. cit.

⁵ Batheworth, *Inscriptions of Nellore District*, I, p. 45, v. 26.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Vol. III*, p. 283, v. 71.

⁷ *Relação*, *Quinquaginta de Crônica*, p. 302.

country. 'The new king,' says he, 'began to rule, compelling some of the captains to leave the fortress, but keeping others by his side'.¹

This inconsiderate conduct of Ranga precipitated the rebellion of Jagga Rāya.

2. This chief was one of the three who did not pay homage to the king at the time of his accession. He is called by Barradas 'the chief of the conspiracy,'² and is also mentioned as such by both the *Ramarāṣṭyamu*,³ and the *Chāṭupadyarāṣṭyamu*.⁴ He was the brother of queen Bayamma and hence uncle of her supposed son.⁵ The *Saṭṭiyarāṣṭyamu* says only that he was 'a relative and servant of the Emperor of Karnata.'⁶ He belonged to the Kshatriya caste and was the chief of the Gobburi family.⁷ According to an inscription of Atmakur Taluk of the year 1612-13 the Anjaneya temple was built by Bhava Siripurapu Yatni Manirāju, younger brother of Jagga Rāju. The inscription mentions both their grandparents, Viramarāju and Virama, and their parents, Lakma and Virama.⁸ Barradas says of him that 'he had six hundred thousand cruzados of revenue and put twenty thousand men into the field.'⁹

The second of the rebel chiefs mentioned by Barradas in *Tima Naique* (Thimala Nāyaka) who 'had four hundred thousand cruzados of revenue and kept up an army of twelve thousand men.'¹⁰ The third chief of the conspiracy is called by Barradas, *Maca Raju* (Maka

¹ *Relação*, loc. cit.

² *Ibid.*

³ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 244.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

⁵ *Liberus Annuaire of the Malabar Province*, I.H.R.I., MB. section. Sewell, p. 225, while translating Barradas' account, calls Jagga Rāya, the father of Bayamma. But the unsigned copy of the same account I found in the Jesuit Archives clearly calls Bayamma 'the sister of Jagga Rāju.' Naturally Kappaswami Sastri, *History of the Nayaks of Tanjore*, p. 8, and V. Venkayya, *Ancient History of the Nellore District, Ind. Ant.*, xxviii, p. 95, note 63, call Jagga Rāya, the brother of queen Bayamma. The strange thing is that the same Sewell, p. 226, calls the pretender a nephew of the same Jagga Rāya. This seems to imply that Bayamma was sister of the latter.

⁶ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 273.

⁷ Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Mysoore and the Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire*, *J. A. S.*, xlii, p. 742.

⁸ *Butterworth, Inscriptions*, I, pp. 233-3.

⁹ *Relação*, loc. cit.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Rāja).¹ He is also mentioned by the *Rāmavāṇya*,² and by the *Chāṭṭapadyarainakaram*.³ 'He had a revenue of two hundred thousand cruzados and mustered six thousand men.'⁴ Mr. H. Krishna Sastry suggests that this Māka Rāja may be one of the Kāvṛṇnagar chiefs who were subordinate to Vijayanagara.⁵

These three chiefs were those who did not give obedience to Raṅga at the time of his accession, and swore to raise the putative son of Veṅkaṭa II to the throne. It seems that they, moreover, spread the idea that Raṅga did not belong to the Āruviṇṇu family, for in an apocryphal prophecy, written, according to Col. McKennie, probably in 1630, after mentioning Veṅkaṭa II's reign, it is added 'after him, of the kings of the Chandra (Chandra) race none will remain, and foreign kings will rule the land, deriving their authority from no legal right. First Chikka Rayaloo (Raṅga) will rule,' etc.⁶ Such an erroneous idea was held by some people of the Empire more than ten years after. This shows that it was much propagated when the succession to the throne was discussed. Now, only the enemies of Raṅga II could elaborate such a shameful concoction.

Anyhow, the three rebels did not openly show their disaffection till the following opportunity offered itself. Barradas' account is as follows: 'The new king displeased three of his captains; the first, the Dalāway, who is the commander-in-chief and has five thousand cruzados of revenue, because the king desired to take from him two fortresses to be conferred on two of his sons; the second, his minister, whom he asked to pay one hundred thousand cruzados, out of the great sums he had stolen from the old king, his uncle; the third, Narapaṛaju (Narapa Rām), since he (the king) demanded the jewels which one of his (Narapa's) cousins, a wife of the old king, had given to him. All these three replied to the king that they would obey his commands within two days; but in the meanwhile they secretly plotted with Jaga

¹ *Relapto*, loc. cit.

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 344.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

⁴ *Relapto*, loc. cit. Krishnaswami Sastry, op. cit., p. 86, says that Māka Rāja was the lord of 20,000 soldiers and the lord of a province in Karnataka, but no reference to a source is there given.

⁵ H. Krishna Sastry, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, loc. cit., p. 126, note 8.

⁶ Camabelli, *Telugu Grammar*, p. xi, note

Raju to raise up the latter's nephew to be king.' Barradas does not mention the names of the Dalvay and the minister who joined Jagga Rāya in the rebellion. They may be some of the chiefs whose names we get acquainted with by reading other sources. For instance the *Ramarajyasamu* records the three following names which have not been identified as yet, Chenchu, Virappa and Yachana,¹ and the *Chitrapadyarainātharam* also gives the name of one Rāvijja Venka.² This shows at least that there were some other nobles besides those six in the conspiracy, a fact pointed out also by the Viceroy of Goa, who announcing to his sovereign the death of Venkapa II says in general that, 'the grandees were displeased with the king appointed by the deceased monarch.'³

3. All these conspirators marvellously succeeded in their plot. Fr. Barradas continues his narrative as follows: 'Jaga Raju sent to tell the king that he wished to do homage to him, and so also did Thim Naique and Maca Raju. The poor king allowed them to enter. Jaga Raju selected five thousand men, and leaving the rest outside the city, he entered the fortress with these chosen ones. The two other conspirators did the same, each of them bringing with them two thousand choice men. The fortress has two walls. Arrived at the first gate Jaga Raju left there a thousand men, and at the second a thousand more. The Dalvay seized two other gates of the fortress, on the other side. There being some tumult, and a cry of treason being raised, the king ordered the palace gates to be closed. But the conspirators as soon as they reached them tried to break them down. Maca Raju stopped their work, crying out that he would deliver up the king to them; and he did so, sending the king a message that if he surrendered he would pledge his word to do him no ill, but that the nephew of Jaga Raju must be the king, he being the son of the late king. The poor surrounded (Rāja), seeing himself without followers and without any possibility of rescue, accepted the promise, and with his wife and sons left the tower in which he was staying. He past through the midst of all with a face grave and severe, and with eyes downcast.

¹ B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Samana*, p. 244.

² *Ibid.*, p. 308.

³ From the Viceroy Dom Jeronimo d'Accevedo, to Philip III. Elms, December 21, 1614, *I H.R.I.*, MH. section.

All did him reverence with hands joined over their heads, but he did not salute any one.²

Barradas does not say in which fortress Raṅga was residing. We suppose it was Vellore, which was then the capital of the Empire. The circumstance that the fortress had two walls, seems to confirm this opinion. In fact two different walls may still be seen in the Vellore fortress. Nor is said to which place the deposed king retired. The slight information given about this place both by Barradas and the poems only warrant the opinion that the new residence of the unfortunate king was another fortress, perhaps Chandragiri.

Such was the end of Raṅga II's reign. How long did it last? We have very few data to ascertain it. Barradas after having spoken of the acknowledgment of Raṅga by the majority of the nobles, says that 'in a very few days' there occurred the opportunity for rebellion we have narrated just now.³ The *Raghunāthakavyadāyam* agrees with this writer. In this poem the ambassadors of Vijayanagara informed Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore that Jagga Rāye's rebellion took place 'after the new emperor had ruled for some time.'⁴ From these two statements and from the probable date of Raṅga II's murder, to be discussed later on, we may conclude that the real reign of this emperor could not last even a month.

4. After the deposition of Raṅga there soon began the sad events and bloody dissensions which the Portuguese Viceroy speaks of in the above-mentioned letter to his sovereign.⁵ First of all, the coronation of the intruder took place in the fort of Vellore. 'The king having left,' says Barradas, 'Jaga Raja called his nephew and crowned him, causing all the captains present to do him homage; and he, finding himself now crowned king, entered the palace and took possession of it and of all the riches and precious stones he found there. If report says truly,' adds here Barradas, 'he found in diamonds alone three large chests full of them.'⁶ I could not trace at all the name of this usurper. In fact he appears to have been a puppet king. The

² *Relação*, loc. cit.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 367.

⁵ From the Viceroy Dom Jeronimo D'Almeida to Philip III, 1582, December 31, 1584. Anquetil du Perron, *Des Recherches Historiques*, II, p. 170, mentions also these dissensions after the death of Venkapa II.

⁶ *Relação*, loc. cit.

real ruler of the empire from this time till the battle of Topur was Jagga Rāya himself.

One of the first acts of his government proves his political talent. In order to please the deposed king, who had not yet been imprisoned, and to prevent any possible attempt on his part of reconquering the throne, he gave half of the imperial revenue to Raṅga, treating him with great consideration.¹ Anyhow, the plan did not work successfully to Jagga Rāya's wishes, because Raṅga soon tried to rise against the intruder.² And it was then that the poor deposed emperor 'was rigorously imprisoned'³ 'under the strictest guard.'⁴

The result of Raṅga's imprisonment was a general desertion of his followers, as recorded by Barradas. 'And he was deserted by all save by one captain whose name was Echama Naique (Yachama Nāyaka), who was outside the fortress with eight thousand men and refused to join Jaga Raja. Indeed, hearing of the treason, he struck his camp and shut himself up in his own fortress and began to collect more troops.'⁵

5. Who was this valiant chief who remained loyal to his lawful sovereign? We spoke of him while narrating the history of Veṅkata II's reign.⁶ He belonged to the Kalahasti family and was the feudatory chief of Veṅkataḡiri. He is also known by the names of Pedda Yachama Naidu and Yacha Sarada. His parents were Kastūri-raṅga and Veṅkatanama. He had two brothers Raṅga and Śiṅga and a sister named Akkamamba who was married to one Chenna. He had a brother-in-law who dedicated to him the poem *Bakṣātōṣcharitram*, from which we gathered most of these family details. The poem also records that he fought with Jagga Rāya.⁷ He seems to have received the Pernadi country as a gift from Veṅkata II, to whose memory he now proved loyal by opposing the designs of Jagga Rāya.⁸

¹ Quatrecas, *Conquista de Orizaba*, p. 326.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Rajapith, loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Cf. Haras, *The Aravida Dynasty*, I., ch. vi, Nos. 11 and 12.

⁷ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 404.

⁸ Cf. Vaidya, *The Ruling Chiefs*, p. 400. Kalyanasundar Venkataratnam states that Yachama Nayaka was at the head of 8,000 soldiers.

The rebel chief, however, expected to attract him to his nephew's party. 'Jaga Raju sent a message to this man,' says Barradas, 'bidding him come and do homage to his nephew, and saying that if he refused he would destroy him. Echama Naique made answer that he was not the man to do reverence to a boy who was the son of no one knew whom, nor even what his caste was; and so far as destroying him went, would he (Jaga Rāya) come out and meet him, for he would wait for him with such troops as he possessed. When this reply was received Jaga Raju made use of a thousand gentle expressions and promised honours and revenues, but nothing could turn him. Nay he (Yachama Nāyaka) took the field with his forces and offered battle to Jaga Raju, saying that since the latter had all the captains on his side, let him come and fight and beat him if he could, and then his nephew would become king unopposed. In the end Jaga Raju despairing (of securing Yachama Nāyaka's allegiance) turned his attention to the other captains of the kingdom and won them over by gifts and promises.'¹

6. In the meanwhile, however, Yachama Nāyaka was not idle. He earnestly attempted to obtain access to the imprisoned Rāga II, but finding this impossible he thought of winning over one of Rāga's sons in order to encourage his troops and also perhaps in order to save the royal offspring in the case of a prospective regicide. His designs were successfully carried out in the following manner. 'He sent and summoned the mainato (washerman) who washed the imprisoned king's clothes,' says Barradas, 'and promised him great things if he would bring him the king's middle son. The mainato gave his word that he would do so if the matter were kept secret. When the day arrived on which it was customary for him to take the clean clothes to the king, he took them (into the prison), and with them an *elle* from Echama Naique, who earnestly begged the king to send him one at least of the three sons whom he had with him, assuring him of the loyalty of the mainato. The king did so, giving up his second son aged twelve years, for the mainato did not dare to take the eldest, who was eighteen years old. He handed over the boy and the mainato put him in amongst the dirty men, warning him not to move and not to cry out even if he felt any pain. In order

¹ *Relação, loc. cit.*

more safely to pass the guards, he placed on the top of a stick some clothes stained with blood (as all escent mulleris menstruas), such as every one would avoid; and then taking the bundle over his shoulders, went out crying "talla, talla" (*challa, challa*), which means "keep at a distance, keep at a distance," on account of the linen he was carrying on the top of the stick. All therefore gave place to him, and he went out of the fortress to his own house. Here he kept the prince in hiding for three days, and at the end of them he took him up to Kohama Nalque, who was a league distant from the city, and he (the prince) was received by that chief and by all his army with great rejoicing.¹

This Jesuit account of the rescue of Prince Rāma sounded incredible to Mr. Robert Sewall. 'How much of the story told is true,' says he, 'we cannot as yet decide.'² The story, however, is now confirmed by the *Ramarājyamu*,³ the *Saktikyaśaṣṭakā*⁴ and the *Rāghavāśāṣṭkavyam*.⁵ The last of these poems specially records that the boy 'was very skilfully rescued from the palace, in the dead of night by a washerman.' The same is stated in one of the annual letters of the Malabar Jesuits.⁶ Queyros similarly says that the prince escaped 'hidden within the linen of a washerman, called maynato.'⁷ Captain Pedro Barretto de Resende, Private Secretary to the Portuguese Viceroy Conde de Linhares, also mentioned the fact some years later in his *Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental*: 'On one occasion,' says he, 'he (the Emperor of Vijayanagara) had to escape in a bundle of soiled linen which a washerman, called in these parts *Maynato*, was taking to wash.'⁸

7. The news of Prince Rāma's escape caused a great surprise and a tremendous disappointment to Jagga Rāya and his followers. The prison hardships of Emperor Rāga were naturally increased

¹ *Relapto*, loc. cit.

² Sewall, p. 232.

³ B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 264.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

⁶ *Litterae Annuae of the Malabar Province*, 1617, *L.M.R.L.*, MS. section.

⁷ Queyros, *Conquista de Ceilão*, p. 510. 'On account of this', Queyros says, 'he was called the King *Maynato*.'

after this event. Both facts are narrated by Barradas as follows. 'The news (of Rāma's flight) then spread abroad and came to the ears of Jaga Raju, who commanded the palace to be searched, and found that it was true. He was so greatly affected that he was like mad for several days, and such was his fury that he doubled the guards on the imprisoned king, closed the gates and commanded that no one should give him aught to eat but rice and *brados*.'¹

In spite of this, the result of the escape of Rāma in his father's party was encouraging and promising. 'As soon as it was known that Echama Naique had possession of the king's son, there went over to him four of Jaga Raju's captains with eight thousand men; so that he had in all sixteen thousand to defend the rightful king. Hence, he took measures for effecting the latter's escape. He selected from among all his soldiers twenty men, who promised to dig an underground passage, which should reach the palace where the king lay in prison. In pursuance of this resolve they went to the fortress, offered themselves to the Dalāy for entry into his service, received pay, and after some days began to dig the passage so as to reach the king's prison. The king, seeing soldiers enter thus into his apartment was amazed, and even more so when he saw them prostrate themselves on the ground and deliver him an *olla* from Echama Naique, in which he begged him to trust himself to these men, as they would escort him out of the fortress. The king consented. He took off his robes hastily and covered himself with a simple cloth; and bidding farewell to his wife, his sons and his daughters, told them to have no fear, for that he, when free, would save them all. But it so happened that at this very moment one of the soldiers who were guarding the palace by night with torches fell into a hole, and at his cries the rest ran up, and on digging they discovered the underground passage. They entered it and got as far as the palace, arriving there just when the unhappy (king) was descending into it in order to escape. He was seized, and the alarm given to Jaga Raju, who sent him (the king) to another place, more rigorous and

¹ This word is translated 'coarse vegetables,' by Sewall, p. 227. *Relaps*, ~~relaps~~

narrower, and with more guards, so that the poor king despaired of ever escaping.³

It is really a matter of regret that Barradas should not say in which place the king was confined on this occasion, because the same place witnessed the murder of Raṅga II some days after. We shall discuss the local circumstances and details given by different sources, when dealing with the latter event.

When confined to this second and rigorous prison, Raṅga II seems to have been downcast. Anyhow Yachama Nāyaka's plans for rescuing his sovereign were not yet over. Barradas tells us that 'he when seeing that his first stratagem had failed, bribed heavily a captain of five hundred men who was in the fortress, to slay the guards as soon as some good occasion offered, and to deliver up the fortress (to him). This man, who was called Itcoblessa (Iti Obaleśa), finding one day that Jaga Raju had gone with all his men in order to receive a certain chief who was coming to offer his submission, and that there only remained in the fortress five thousand men, in less than half an hour slew the guards, seized three gates, and sent a message to Bohama Nakke telling him to come at once and seize the fortress. But Jaga Raju was the more expeditious; he returned with all his forces, entered by a postern gate, of the existence of which Itcoblessa had not been warned, and put to death the captain and his five hundred soldiers.'⁴

8. This second attempt at rescuing the king precipitated his final ruin. The machiavellie Jagga Rāya enraged at the news of it 'resolved to slay the imprisoned king and all his family in order to strengthen the party of his nephew.'⁵ As to the way how the crime was committed, there is much discrepancy among the sources. Barradas relates that the poor king was forced to commit suicide after having killed his wife and children save his eldest son, who also killed himself, and the youngest daughter, who was slaughtered by a brother of Jagga Rāya.⁶ But I prefer the authority of two poems, the *Raghnatha-*

³ *Ratnapo*, loc. cit.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Barradas' account runs as follows: 'He (Jagga Rāya) entrusted (his business to a brother of his, named Chhama Obraju (Chhama Obe Rāya). The latter went to the prison and told the poor king that he must slay himself and that, if he would not, he himself would kill him with stroke of his dagger. The prisoner attempted to excuse himself, saying that he knew nothing of the business of the

dhya-dayam and the *Sahityaratnakara*. They give us the local tradition, much more reliable than an account, though contemporary, written by a European at Cochin. Moreover both poems marvellously agree with each other, and are supported by Fr Queyroz, whose account, though much confused, shows the king killed by somebody else's hand.²

According to the *Sahityaratnakara* Jagga Rāya along with his friends went to the Emperor as if for some act of service. The *Raghunāthadhya-dayam* adds that the younger brother of Jagga Rāya—most likely the one mentioned by Barradas under the name of Chinna Obu Rāya—was also accompanying him. The words of the *Sahityaratnakara* seem to mean that the real purpose of Jagga Rāya was concealed to all excepting his brother and his intimate friends. Other people supposed that he was going to do an act of service to the unfortunate prisoner. The *Raghunāthadhya-dayam* adds moreover that they entered the prison at night, and the *Sahityaratnakara* records that they waited till the Emperor was asleep. The coward treachery of Jagga Rāya was thus consummated. Then they murdered the Emperor Rāga with his wife, his children and his friends. By the last word the *Sahityaratnakara* perhaps means some of the nobles or courtiers who had remained faithful to Rāga and who were imprisoned with him.³

As regards the fortress where this regicide took place, Queyroz says that it was committed 'at Bimaga.'⁴ This seems to mean that Rāga was murdered at Vellore itself, for the capital of the Empire,

But seeing the determination of Chinabaja (sic), who told him that he must necessarily die, either by his own hand or by that of another—a pitiful case and one that cannot be related without sorrow—the poor king called the queen, his wife, and after he had spoken to her a while he beheaded her. Then he sent for his youngest son, and did the same to him. He put to death similarly his little daughter. Afterwards he sent for his eldest son, who was already married, and commanded him to slay his wife, which he did by beheading her. This done, he (the king) took a long sword of four fingers' breadth, and throwing himself upon it, breathed his last; and his son, heir to the throne, did the same to himself in imitation of the king. There remained only a little daughter, whom the king could not bring himself to slay; but Chinna Obaja killed her, so that none of the family should remain alive of the royal blood, and the throne should be secured for his nephew. *Relapto, loc. cit.*

² Queyroz, *Compendio de Crôno*, p. 320.

³ M. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 273-4, 286.

⁴ *Relapto, loc. cit.*

first Pentukonda, then Chendragiri, and finally Vellore, had been successively called after the name of the first capital Vijayanagara.¹ The *Saṅgiyavarnanam* confirms this when saying that Jagga Rāya assassinated the Emperor 'in his capital'.² Indeed, Barradas himself when narrating the second attempt to rescue the Emperor says that Itteobles took the opportunity of 'finding one day that Jaga Rāya had gone with all his men in order to receive a certain chief.' This evidently proves that Jagga Rāya was always in the same fortress in which the king was confined. Now we cannot suppose that in such turbulent times Jagga Rāya would abandon his young nephew at Vellore in order to watch over his rival's prison. Specially Jagga Rāya himself being the *de facto* ruler of the Empire. In fact Vellore, the capital of the Empire, was the best place to keep a watch over the deposed king. He could be confined there in a 'more rigorous and narrow' prison 'with more guards' than in any other place of the Empire.³

We have not been able to ascertain the time of this murder. Anyhow, from the study of some of the sources we may point out a probable date. The apocryphal prophecy mentioned above, though not accurate as regards dates, assigns four months of reign to Raṅga II.⁴ Though this period seems very short, it is now certain that Raṅga's reign was not so long. The Portuguese Viceroy Dom Jeronimo d'Asevedo, writing to King Philip III on December 31, 1614, announces the regicide: 'The one (Raṅga II) appointed by him (Vaṅkaṭa II) did not please the nobles, who have killed him.'⁵ The fact therefore reached the Viceroy's ears at Goa at the end of December, 1614. Hence the event must have taken place the latest at the end of November. Epigraphy also confirms this date. A grant of one Mumadi Tammapa Gauda, son of Immadi Tammapa Gauda and grandson of Chikka Raya Tammapa Gauda, was made in the Anekal

¹ Cf. Hama, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, ch. Irv, No. 7.

² S. Krishnaaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 373.

³ Sewall, p. 226, when relating the second imprisonment of the king, says that he was sent 'to another place more confined and narrower.' The word 'confined' does not give the exact meaning of the Portuguese one 'apertado' of my account of Barradas. Rigorous confines the Portuguese used much better.

⁴ Campbell, *Telugu Grammar*, p. xi, note.

⁵ From the Viceroy Dom Jeronimo d'Asevedo to Philip III, Lisbon, December 31, 1614. *J.F.R.J.*, 129, section.

Taluk, Bangalore District, in 1614, 'when the Rājādīrāja Vīra Rāma Dēva Mahārāja, seated on the jewel throne in Penukonda, was ruling the Empire.'¹ The beginning of the reign of Rāma at the end of 1614, proves that his father was already dead some time before.² We may therefore place the date of Raṅga II's murder at the end of November 1614. Now if we remember that Veṅkaṭa II died in the beginning of October of 1614, we shall realize that the reign of Raṅga II lasted about a month and a half.³

9. After the murder of Raṅga II the whole Empire was naturally upset. Factions sprang up everywhere. Both armies were shaken with horror. The nobility was afraid of the rising power of that bloody tyrant who headed the usurper's party.⁴ Fr Barradas speaks at length of the consequences of this crime. His words are the following: 'Some of the captains were struck with horror at this dreadful deed, and were so enraged at its cruelty that they went over to Echama Naique, resolved to defend the boy who had been rescued by the maimed and who alone remained of all the royal family. Echama Naique furious at this shameful barbarity and confident in the justice of his cause, selected ten thousand of his best soldiers, and with them offered battle to Jaga Raju, who had more than sixty thousand men and a number of elephants and horses. He (Yaohama) sent him a message in this form: 'Now that thou hast murdered thy king and all his family, and there alone remains this boy whom I rescued from thee and have in my keeping, come out and take the field with all thy troops; kill the boy and me, and then thy nephew will be secure on the throne.' Jaga Raju tried to evade this challenge for some time; but finding that Echama Naique insisted, he decided to fight him, trusting that with so great a number of men he would easily not only be victorious, but also able to capture both Echima (rāc) Naique and the

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, ix, An, 47. In *Ep. Carn* vi, Cm, 163, there is another inscription of 1615-16 in which the king is called Vīrapratāpa Sri Rāmāchandraṁāja. Certainly there is an inscription of one King Raṅga, dated 1619, in Rangacharya, II, p. 1212, but such an inscription only proves either mistake or ignorance.

² Cf. H. Krishna Murti, *The Tēdrē Vijayanagara Dynasty*, loc. cit., p. 180; Venkayya, *Ancient History of the Nellore District*, loc. cit., p. 96.

³ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Mywore and the Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire*, loc. cit., p. 743, says that 'perhaps ruled for a year, it could hardly be longer.' 'It is now doubtless that Raṅga's reign was much shorter.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, ix, An, 47. See also note 5, p. 178.

king's son. He took the field therefore with all his troops. Echma (sic) Nalque entrusted a force of ten thousand men to the prince; they remained a league away, and with the other ten thousand he not only offered battle, but was the first to attack, and that with such fury and violence that Jaga Raju with all his people, as well as his own nephew, turned their backs to their enemies, and many met their deaths in the flight. Echama Nalque entered in triumph the tents of Jaga Raju, finding in them all the royal insignia of the old king, and these he delivered at once to the boy son of Chicarajula (Rajga II), proclaiming him rightful heir and king of all the Empire of Bisnaga. The spoil which he took was very large, for in precious stones alone they say that he found two millions worth. After this victory many of the captains joined themselves to Echma (sic) Nalque, with the effect that in a short time he had with him fifty thousand fighting men in his camp, while Jaga Raju with only fifteen thousand, fled to the jungles.¹

10. This long quotation of Berradas shows the disastrous effect of Rajga II's murder for the part of the intruder. Many chiefs deserted him, his army was thoroughly defeated, the royal insignia were taken from him and his partisans had to take refuge in the forest. While his enemy won a glorious victory, after which the young prince was duly proclaimed Emperor of Vijayanagara, and joined by many of the chiefs who had formerly been in favour of the intruder.

The *Ramavaliyanu* mentions four of these chiefs who were at this time defending the cause of Rāma II.² Two of them Rayappa and Ayyana have not been hitherto identified. The third, Singa Nṛpati seems to be the youngest brother of Yachama himself, spoken of in the *Bakujatvacharitam*.³ The fourth of these chiefs, named Chenna, is undoubtedly the brother-in-law of Yachama Nīyaka married to his sister Akkamamba. In the same poem, *Bakujatvacharitam*, Chenna is said to have fought with the Pandya,⁴ viz., the Nīyak of Madura, who in fact joined the army of Jagga Rāya after this defeat of the latter.

¹ *Relatório, loc. cit.*

² Somebody has suggested that these four chiefs were the brothers of Rāma II himself, for all of them are compared in the poem to the five Pandavas. This opinion is inconsistent with the murder of the royal family as well as with the age of the brothers of the Emperor.

³ E. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sourcees*, p. 366.

⁴ *Ibid.*

We spoke at length of this Chenna when relating the capture of Vellore by the army of Veñkata II. Chenna was then the generalissimo of the army.¹ These and some other captains of Yachama Nāyaka were those 'grateful officers of the late Emperor (Veñkata II) who took up the child's cause, according to the *Raghunāthabāhyudayam*.²

To strengthen their army more and more all these chiefs resolved to request the Nāyak of Tanjore to take up likewise the cause of the fugitive Emperor. The envoys they sent to the court of Raghunātha Nāyaka, according to the same poem, demanded of him 'to rescue the Empire once more from destruction as he had done before in his youth, and to destroy the party of Jagga Rāya.'³ Yachama Nāyaka himself wished to go to Tanjore for the same purpose. The *Sāstiyaratnakāra* says that he with other chiefs were actually 'proceeding to the Nāyak of Tanjore for help.'⁴ Anyhow, before his reaching Tanjore, an emissary of Raghunātha arrived at his court and announced to him that Yachama 'is now proceeding to the south for assistance. He requests to be assisted by you in the cause of your common master, the Karnata Emperor.'⁵ After this, new messengers brought further information to Raghunātha. The *Raghunāthabāhyudayam* says that they told him that 'the traitors to the Empire had effected a junction with the rulers of Tundira (Jinji) and Pandya (Madura), and with their armies were hunting for the late Emperor's surviving son to put him to death.'⁶ This piece of news is also confirmed by the *Sāstiyaratnakāra*.⁷

¹ Cf. Harma, *op. cit.* I, ch. xv, No 11.

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 268.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 273. This poem says that the Pireskias (Portuguese) were allied with the Nāyak of Madura in favour of the nephew of Jagga Rāya. I feel sure that the Portuguese did not join this war at all. Otherwise, both Fr. Barradas and the Portuguese Viceroy would have said so. Just the contrary, Barradas records towards the end of his account, a portion not published by Sewall, that the Portuguese Viceroy Rui Dias da Sampayo made an agreement with the party of the young king, rescued by the maimed *Ratappa, loc. cit.* This is an evident confusion between this war of Raghunātha and the one he held at Jaffanapatam, of which we shall speak later on. In this second war the Portuguese did certainly fight against the Nāyak.

Upon hearing such information the generous Nāyaka of Tanjore resolved to join the cause of Rāma II. The young Emperor's father, the unfortunate Raṅga II, when a prince during Veṅkaṭa II's life, had spent long periods in the kingdom of Tanjore on account of the turbulent discussions about the inheritance of the crown held at the court of Vijayanagara. He had become a bosom friend of Raghunātha Nāyaka from whom he had received several favours.¹ Naturally this friendship obliged the Nāyaka of Tanjore to join the party of Raṅga II's son, young Rēma II. Hence, according to the *Saṁkhyaratanākara*, 'he decided to proceed to Kumbhakonam to effect a junction with the Emperor's son Rāma Rāya, and celebrate his coronation at this place. The king then vowed that he would proceed against the Pandya and his allies, and having captured the chiefs in the battlefield, would take away all the wealth in the camp and set their empty camp on fire. He would also destroy in battle Jagga Rāya and his other allies. Speaking thus, Raghunātha entrusted the whole management of the kingdom to his minister Govinda Dikshita, and in great anger ordered his army to get ready for the march. Before marching 'Raghunātha vowed to his favourite God Raghubhāṣa that he would build for him a temple at his enemy's capital if he blessed him with success in the war.'²

11. While this Yachama Nāyaka's army was supported by such a chief as the Nāyaka of Tanjore, Jagga Rāya was not idle in the forests, where he retired after his defeat. 'Here, however,' says Barradas, 'he was joined by more followers,'³ and according to Barradas himself one of these who espoused the cause of the intruder, at this time was 'the great Nāyaka of Madura' (the Nāyaka of Madura).⁴ We have seen that both the *Raghunāthabhyudaya* and the *Saṁkhyaratanākara* confirm this piece of information. The Nāyaka of Madura was at this time Muttu Virappa Nāyaka.

Both these poems as well as the *Bakalaracharitam* and the *Raghunāthabhyudaya* of Vijayaraghava Nāyaka referred also to the Nāyaka of Jinji⁵ as one of the allies of Jagga Rāya whose name,

¹ Quoyron, *Compulsio de Capite*, p. 300.

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Source*, p. 174.

³ *Relação*, loc. cit.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Source*, p. 174.

however, is not mentioned by Barradas. He was Krishappa Nāyaka.

12. It was at the end of 1614 or beginning of 1615, long after Ranga II's murder, that the three great Nāyaks of the Tamil country joined the fight between the rightful Emperor and the intruder. From this time up to the end of 1616, when Fr. Barradas wrote his account, we have very slight information concerning the war. Barradas states only that 'the war was continued these two years.'¹ This supposes that there were skirmishes, if not real battles, between both parties during these two years. 'But the party of the rescued boy (Rāma),' adds Barradas, 'has always been gaining strength.'² A Jesuit letter of Malabar of 1617 informs us that the Nāyak of Madura during this time had ordered to raze all the houses of several villages to the ground after having suffered some reverses in the war.³ This shows an advance of the enemy into the Madura Kingdom. Its Nāyak did not permit his enemies to enjoy their conquests, and ravaged the whole country before retiring. It was then most likely that at the instance of Jagga Rāya, the Nāyak of Madura cut the great anicut across the Kaveri in order to prevent their enemies to advance further south, as related in the *Saṭṭyavataśhara*.⁴ In fact the above-mentioned letter of the Malabar Jesuits points out a further change of fortune. Indeed, it states that the Nāyak of Madura had afterwards become more powerful by mustering more soldiers, while his enemies were retreating northwards forced by the scarcity of water.⁵ The *Saṭṭyavataśhara* tells us that at this time 'Jagga Rāya was wandering with his forces near Srirangam.'⁶

But this apparent success of the intruder's party did not last long. For at the end of 1616, when Barradas finished his account, 'the Naikate of Tanjore though not so great was, with the aid of the young king, getting the upper hand.' 'Indeed,' continues the Jesuit

¹ *Relação*, loc. cit. Sewall, p. 280, adds here 'fortune favouring now one side now the other.' The account in my possession does not refer to such change of fortune. It says only that 'some captains favoured one of the parties and others the other.'

² *Ibid.*

³ *Lithores Annuaire de la Malabar Province*, 1617, I.H.R.J., MS. section.

⁴ B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 274.

⁵ *Lithores Annuaire de la Malabar Province*, 1617, I.H.R.J., MS. section.

⁶ B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, loc. cit.

writer, 'they are now assembled in the field in the large open plains of Trichensepāḥ (Trichinopoly), which may contain not only a hundred thousand soldiers, as each of the parties has, but several millions of people.'¹ Such is the end of Barradas' account as far as this war is concerned. It is a matter of regret that he did not continue his minute narrative till the end of the war. I could not find any other writing about it in the Jesuit Archives.

13. Raghunātha Nāyaka, after leaving Tanjore, marched his army westwards to Topur (Tohur) which was the headquarters of Jagga Rāya's army. Tohur is a village situated on the southern bank of the Kaveri, about two miles from the great ascent.² When reaching its neighbourhood, Raghunātha's army encamped at the village of Pejavānēri.³ He then sent orders to every captain in his army to be ready for the next morning for he wanted to deliver the attack upon his enemy without further delay. Sentinels were placed at several posts in the field during the night, and the whole camp was lit up with torches and watch fires to prevent any surprise of the enemy.⁴

On the morrow, after the usual morning prayers and worship, Raghunātha made some gifts to the Brahmans and received the blessings from them. After taking his breakfast shortly after sunrise, he entered the howda called Vijayarudrādri over the state elephant Rāmabhadra. He was attended by his son Ramabhadra. On one side of him rode upon another elephant the town Madālāḥa, Purushottamaya and Narasappa. On the other side rode upon another elephant the two officers Astappa and Alagappa. Immediately after them upon another elephant rode the young Emperor Rāma Dēva Rāya. The *Raghunāthābhyaṣayam* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka which we are now extracting does not mention at all Yachama Nāyaka, probably not to shade the glory of Raghunātha, the hero of the poem. But we cannot suppose that he abandoned his royal protégé in this supreme hour of his contest for the throne. Jagga Rāya was most likely in the same howda with the young Emperor. Then followed a number of

¹ *Relação, loc. cit.*

² *Raghunāthābhyaṣayam*, 6. Kṛishnaswāmi Aiyangar, *Epistole*, p. 200.

³ *Ibid.* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

subordinate chiefs who had joined Rūma II after seeing his cause supported by the Nāyaka of Tanjore.¹

According to the usual poetical oriental manner, the *Raghunāthābhīradāyam* compares the meeting of both armies to the meeting of the eastern ocean with the western. The battle was opened with an artillery duel. After this the Tanjore cavalry proceeded in a semi-circular formation and charged the enemy. Soon the infantry joined the action. 'The troops of the Pandya (the Nāyaka of Madura) could not stand the attack, broke and fled from the field.' Then Jagga Rāya enraged with fury on seeing the defeat of his ally, advanced against Raghunātha of Tanjore. 'The sight of the traitor Jagga Rāya, made Raghunātha very angry.' The infantry of the imperial army checked Jagga Rāya's advance. A bloody fight ensued. During it Jagga Rāya and some of his relatives and attendants were killed by the spears of the Tanjore infantry.²

The defeat and death of Jagga Rāya marked the beginning of a general flight in the intruder's army. Māka Raju fled away with his followers. When he saw the troops of his allies flying from the field,

¹ *Raghunāthābhīradāyam* of Vijayarūghava Nāyaka, *Source*, pp. 250 and 253.

The chiefs mentioned by the poem are the following —

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|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1 Kōvēti Kondrāju. | 16 Gaḍi Timma Rāju. |
| 2 Kaṭṭa Raḍḍapa Rāju. | 17 The Chiefs of Kāḍuva. |
| 3 Kaṭṭiri Rāju. | 18 The Chiefs of Cuddapah. |
| 4 Saṃpata Nēga Rāju of Miṭṭāpalem. | 19 The Pēḍala Chiefs. |
| 5 Rāma Rāju. | 20 The Paḍṇa Chiefs. |
| 6 Raghunātha Rāju of Owi. | 21 Sriṣeṭṭi Rāju and his mercenaries. |
| 7 Obala Rāju, who is called the | 22 The Jūpālī people. |
| <i>Māma</i> , maternal uncle, possibly | 23 Dūṣṭa Raḍḍi cāna. |
| of the young Emperor | 24 Mēṭṭappa. |
| 8 Maṃbōli Rāju. | 25 Kuṃḍra Raḍḍayya. |
| 9 Śrīraḍḍapaṭi Rāju. | 26 Pēṃṭiṅṅaniṭṭu. |
| 10 Śrīḍiri Rāju. | 27 The Baḥunṭri Chiefs. |
| 11 Vira Rāghava Rāju. | 28 The Chiefs of Maṇḍuva. |
| 12 Viṭṭhala Rāju. | 29 The Reddīs of Kaṃḍam, Koṇḍa- |
| 13 Chūṭṭāju of Nandala. | viṭṭu and Koṇḍapaṭṭi. |
| 14 Nēṭṭapa Rāju. | 30 Mallappa. |
| 15 Kaṇḍanavōli Rāju. | 31 Mēḍama. |
| | 32 Peruṃḷi Mēḍallar. |

² *Raghunāthābhīradāyam*, *Ibid.*, pp. 250-51. The death of Jagga Rāya in the battle of Topur is also recorded in the *Saḥasraśatakaśrīraṃ*, *Ibid.*, p. 305; in the *Raghunāthābhīradāyam* by Vijayarūghava Nāyaka, *Ibid.*, p. 255, and in a letter of Fr. A. Rubino to the Assistant of Portugal, dated St. Thome, November 29, 1617: 'The boy, rightful successor to the crown, beheaded Jaggaṭṭu, his opponent, some months ago.' *I.H.R.J.*, MS. section.

Rēvillā Venka lost courage and fled along with the others. Dalāvay Chenchu 'who had never seen a battle from his birth lost heart even at the distant sight of royal corpses weltering in their blood and took to hasty flight.' Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Jinji also fled from the battlefield 'making himself ridiculous in the eyes of his own officers.'¹

In the meanwhile the Nāyak of Madura had come back to the battle field and was one of the last in abandoning it. The *Raghunātha-Śāyadāyana* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka states that he fought 'till the important officers under him, Tiruvandina Pillay, Tīrappa Setti, Param Timma Nayudu, Hīnjabala Rao and Errama Setti, the junior captain of horse, had fled.'² 'Then he began to feel anxious for the safety of his own territory. Leaving his elephants, horses, treasury, and baram in the camp, he fled the distance of a league.'³ Anyhow, Mutta Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka was captured by the soldiers of Raghunātha of Tanjore and brought before the latter. The Tanjore Nāyak pardoned his rival of Madura 'gaining great glory by the act.'⁴ Then he ordered a pillar of victory to be erected on the banks of the Kaveri.⁵

Such was the end of the battle of Topur. The party of the intruder received its death blow, after which he could not seriously defy the rights of Rāma II, as the subsequent erratic attempts proved to evidence. As regards the date of the battle, it is difficult to fix. Certainly we may affirm that it was fought between the month of December 1616, when Barradas finished his account, and the month of November 1617, which is the date of Fr. Rubino's letter that mentions Jagga Rāya's death.⁶ Now, since Fr. Rubino states on November 29 that Jagga Rāya was killed some months before, we may take it that the battle of Topur took place sometime during the first half of 1617.

14. The death of Jagga Rāya in the battle of Topur was the

¹ *Raghunātha-Śāyadāyana* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, *Source*, p. 280; *Raghunātha-Śāyadāyana*, *Ibid.*, p. 280.

² *Raghunātha-Śāyadāyana* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, *Ibid.*, p. 280.

³ *Raghunātha-Śāyadāyana*, *Ibid.*, p. 280. The *Raghunātha-Śāyadāyana* by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka speaks also of the Rājak's Śakti 'leaving behind him his baram-cases and treasury.' *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Cf. note 1 on p. 83

greatest loss suffered by the intruder's party. Anyhow, Fr. Rubino's letter mentioned above informs us that a new head arose in this party. That was Jagga Rāya's brother, named Itirāja (Itirāja),¹ who had also fled from the battlefield.² He now joined the Nāyak of Jinji and others among his allies and they prepared themselves to offer battle to Raghunātha. The latter, however, dispatched an army under one of his generals to attack the fortresses of the Jinji territory. Bhuvanagiri was soon captured and then other fortresses were also seized. At this juncture, the Tanjore army was attacked by Krishnappa Nāyaka and obtained a great victory.³

At any rate, it seems that Itirāja continued for some time to defend the intruder's pretensions. But Fr. Rubino wrote on November 29, 1617, that 'he cannot resist the power of the boy (Rāma II)' and he adds that 'this boy, who is the rightful successor to the crown, is obtaining greater victories (over Itirāja) every day. Hence it is believed that he will be crowned not long after.'⁴ In fact, the *Bahaduracharitam* refers to a victory of Yachama Nāyaka over Yati-raja (Itirāja) in the neighbourhood of Palamukota (Palamkota, South Arcot).⁵ This victorious campaign of the partisans of Rāma II is also referred to in the *Libro de Estado da Índia Oriental* by Captain Pedro Barreto de Resende mentioned above: 'Having grown up in hiding,' says he, 'the king with the help of a faithful subject, gradually recovered part of his kingdom by force of arms.'⁶ Indeed, by force of arms, Yachama Nāyaka, and Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and their allies 'placed Rāma Dēva Rāya firmly on the throne of Ghanagiri (Pannkonda).'⁷

15. No other piece of information has come to us concerning the end of this civil war. Not long after the battle of Topur, the Nāyak of Madura, moved perhaps by the generosity of Raghunātha Nāyaka

¹ *Ibid.* Cf. Van Dijk, *Des Jours où les Laves van Wanner Van Berchem*, p. 30.

² *Raghunāthābhayadāyam*, *Ibid.*, p. 200. This poem calls him Yati-rāja.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ From Fr. A. Rubino to the Assistant of Portugal, St. Thomas, November 29, 1617, *I.H.R.I.*, MSS. section.

⁵ Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, A S. of I., Report, 1911-12*, p. 199, note 1.

⁶ Cf. D. Love, *Vadigas of Old Madras*, I, p. 299.

⁷ *Raghunāthābhayadāyam* of Vijayaraghava Nāyaka, *Source*, p. 246.

of Tanjore, offered him one of his daughters in marriage.¹ This was equivalent to a submission to Rāma II. In fact we read in the fourth act of the drama *Rajamūlakaṭṭavandana* that the Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore, after their family union, 'made the small child of the murdered king of Karnataka king of that country.'² Though we have no positive proof, we are sure that the Nāyak of Jinji also presented his homage to the new Emperor, for we see him peacefully ruling over his state after the juncture of these events. Even Iṭirāja himself submitted to the new regime and even married one of his daughters to the young Emperor.³ We shall see him some years later holding a petty chieftainship in the surroundings of Pulicat.⁴

With the submission of the main chiefs the war was practically over. The other chiefs and captains were also forced to pay homage to Rāma II, on pain of their losing their posts and suffering confiscation of their fortunes.

16. This war was extremely disastrous for the country. Naturally three years of continuous fighting had to impoverish the whole kingdom. Both the Portuguese and English records, which we shall quote later on, speak of the miserable state of agriculture and the meagre efforts of trade. Besides, the famous thieves of the forests between Madura and Marava became very bold when they saw the rulers of the country engaged in waging war between themselves. Their mischiefs in Madura were as calamitous as the war itself. They even dared to assault the villages round the capital itself. A Jesuit letter informs us that it was very dangerous to go from place to place, for the public roads were so infested with the miscreants that everybody was afraid of losing not only their fortunes, but their very lives.⁵

The war was equally calamitous for the imperial authority. It was the first war of its kind that ever took place in the Empire. There had been subversions of dynasties by enterprising nobles, who obtained without much opposition the subjection of the whole of the

¹ *Rajamūlakaṭṭavandana* of Vijayanagara Nāyaka, *Source*, p. 266.

² Cf. Kuppaswami Sastri, *History of the Nayak Princes*, p. 9.

³ *Itinerarium*, B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Source*, p. 266.

⁴ Cf. *English Factories, 1622-3*, pp. 208, 222-23.

⁵ *Litterae Annuae de Província de Madagascari*, 1622, pp. 100-101.

Empire. There had been also rebellions of petty chiefs and tributary princes, who were easily put down by force. But there had never been in Vijayanagara a civil war that lasted three years, and divided the whole of the Empire between the lawful sovereign and a shameless impostor. The prestige of the imperial authority lost a great deal in those three years during which the supreme sovereignty was contested by a rebellious appeal to arms. After this war, the Emperor of Vijayanagara was nothing else than a puppet in the hands of the Nāyaka, and when the courageous Rāja III wanted to shake off that shameful protection, the Nāyaka themselves became his most dreadful enemies, and proved traitors to the Empire.

A further consequence of the war was the loss of Mylapore and the neighbouring country conquered by the Portuguese of St. Thome. We shall speak of this event in one of the following chapters.

17 We hear no more of Yachama Nāyaka, the valiant Veṅkaṭa-giri chief, who so boldly defied the pretensions of the intruder and his uncle in favour of the rightful Emperor. Yacha had been a great warrior in the preceding reign, but in raising his voice and his hand against the traitors to the Empire he deserved the title of father of his country and saviour of the Empire. Accordingly a *śloka* verse of the collection *Chāṭupādyaśatāṅgarām* says, that a crore of Jagga Rāya, seventy crores of Māka Rāja's father and one lakh and a sixteen Rāvillā Venkaṭas put together, would not be a match for Yacha 'who bears the title of Ibbara Ganda,' just as any number of goats joined together would not be a match for the tiger.¹

Nothing is heard of the intruder, the putative son of Veṅkaṭa, in the following years. He most likely escaped and hid himself in a separate corner of the Empire, from where he saw all his adherents subdued to his rival. In the Mackenzie Collection there was an account of one Basavappa Nāyak, Poligar of Balaji, a town near Badnur, who claimed descent from Veṅkaṭapati II, Rāja of Vijayanagara.² Was he supposed to be a descendant of the putative son of Veṅkaṭa for whom Jagga Rāya fought so unceasingly and unfortunately?

Vijayarūghava Nāyaka of Tanjore in the poem *Raghunātha-Mayadāyam*, written in honour of his father Raghunātha Nāyaka, says

¹ S. Krishnarwami Aiyangar, *Source*, p. 208.

² Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 332.

that in the palace of Tanjore called Vijaya Bhavana Rāja there were paintings representing Raghunātha's successes over the Nāyaks of Madura and Jinji and of his raising Rāma Dēva Rāya to the imperial throne.¹ It is a matter of regret indeed, that such paintings have not come to us. They would be the most fitting complement to the account of Fr. Barradas and to the narrative of the poems for writing the history of this war, so unique in the annals of Southern India.

¹ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 265.

The Two Hollonds of Madras and their Dubash

BY

THE HON'BLE MR JUSTICE C. G. H. FAWCETT, L.C.S.

It is very rarely that an Indian trial nowadays gets noticed by the press or publishers in England, far less reported at any length. A trial requires sensational features, like those which attended the Malabar Hill murder case, to attain the notoriety of publication outside India. But in the early days of British Rule, at any rate towards the end of the eighteenth century, there were other causes operating in favour of such publication. For one thing the interest taken by the public of England in Indian questions was far greater than at present. The main reasons for this are given in Macaulay's *Essay on Lord Clive*.¹ A fortune could ordinarily be accumulated in a few years by any Englishman, whatever his age, if lucky enough to be sent out in the Company's service. There was also the fierce political struggle which went on so long between the friends of the Company and its enemies. Publications relating to Indian affairs had then a ready sale. This led to several Indian trials being reported by persons who had an interest in doing this, e. g. to show up oppression or other misconduct.

There are two cases of this kind which have recently come to the writer's knowledge. One is that of a trial by jury in the Court of Quarter Sessions at Madras in 1792 and the other a similar trial in the Recorder's Court at Bombay in 1805. Both are cases concerning Civil Servants of the Company and illustrating the initial difficulties in the way of the action taken by Lord Clive to purify the Civil Service of corruption. Men who had served in the days when, as Macaulay points out,² the Company by its low salaries impliedly permitted them to enrich themselves by private trade and indirect means, were not all likely to give up dishonest practices. In the Madras case we have an

¹ Longman's edition of 1870, p. 532.

² *Essay on Lord Clive*, *ibid.*, p. 536.

instance of even an acting Governor oppressing a member of his own service from corrupt motives, and in the Bombay case the 'father of the service,' who held the office of Custom-Master, was proved guilty of accepting bribes. Fortunately these were exceptional cases, even in those days; and the eventual success of Lord Clive's policy is now recognized.

The Madras trial derives its main interest from the events preceding it. These are detailed in a preface to the report of the trial, written by David Haliburton, a senior merchant who held the offices of Member of the Board of Revenue and Persian Translator at Fort St. George in 1789. A copy of his pamphlet, which was published in 1793 by J Murray of Fleet St., is contained in a volume labelled *Indian Tracts* and marked RR-4-17 in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society at Bombay.

John Holland came out as a writer in 1761 and in 1782 had risen to the rank of Member of Council.¹ He was one of the Company's servants who ultimately made large fortunes out of loans to the Nawab of the Carnatic.² He became acting Governor of Madras in 1789 and was called on by Lord Cornwallis to make preparations for war against Tippu Sultan of Mysore; but he set the Governor-General at defiance, refused to make such preparations, and appropriated the revenues of the Carnatic to the payment of the Nawab's debts³ in which he was more interested. His character is sufficiently shown by his offer to the Raja of Travancore, who had been attacked by Tippu, to help him with a British detachment, on condition of receiving a present for himself of some thirty-five thousand pounds sterling. Lord Cornwallis was much exasperated, and Holland in February 1790 fled from his post to England.⁴

Haliburton's account of his misfortunes begins in June 1789, when John Holland was acting Governor and his brother Edward John Holland was third Member of Council. There was only one other Member, so that the two brothers could carry proposals by a majority. They both employed the same *dubash* or private agent, a Brahmin by name Avadaunum Panplah, who with three others was eventually tried

¹ Prinsep's *Record of Services in the Madras Presidency*, 1862-72, II, 74.

² Wheeler's *Short History of India*, 1890, Edn. 3, 202-203.

³ Wheeler's *op. cit.*, p. 202; *Memories of Lord Cornwallis*, 1804, 404.

⁴ Wheeler's *op. cit.*, p. 202.

for an alleged conspiracy against Halliburton. This briefly was as follows :—

A monopoly-holder for the sale of betel-nut and tobacco in Madras and its neighbourhood applied to Government claiming a right to have the area of his monopoly extended beyond its accustomed limits. This was referred to the Board of Revenue (including Halliburton), which reported against it. Nevertheless the request was granted by Government. This led to some opposition by the inhabitants who pulled down the licensee's huts in the added area. Some of them were arrested and confined, thereupon they solicited the aid of the *dubash* Panpiah, who had great influence with his masters and was supposed to be all-powerful, where natives were concerned. Panpiah and his co-accused then conspired to have petitions presented to the Governor-in-Council alleging that Halliburton had instigated the riot. Sworn petitions and statements were made accordingly by two persons, and this was supplemented by cleverly concocted evidence of an attempt by Halliburton to bribe the two informants to retract their allegations against him. It was arranged that a pseudo-agent of Halliburton should be publicly seized with alleged hush-money upon him; and sworn evidence of this was promptly given before the Governor-in-Council. The *dubash* Panpiah was allowed to be present at the examination of the witnesses and could see that they stuck to the evidence he wanted.

These steps culminated in Halliburton being required in September 1789 to answer the allegations. He applied for the appointment of an independent Committee to investigate the case; but this request was refused, and he was told that he was at liberty to cross-examine any person, or to produce any evidence he liked, before the Governor-in-Council. Halliburton was probably well advised in declining to take advantage of this opportunity, having regard to the two Hollonds forming the majority of the Bench that would have decided the case. He however, declared his readiness to affirm on oath, in the most solemn manner, that what had been alleged against him was false and fabricated. The two Hollonds then carried a resolution (the third member dissenting) that Halliburton should be removed from his office at Madras and appointed Paymaster at Chandergherry, a place about seven miles from Arcot and Vellore. Halliburton describes it as 'a frontier station in a hot and unwholesome country garrisoned by two Euro-

pean officers, two invalid sergeants and sixty-eight sepoy; an appointment not only new in itself but which, it is fair to say, would have been considered by the youngest writer in the service more as a banishment from society than as a mark of attention.'

Haliburton, who delayed his departure from Madras as much as possible, reached Chunderghurry on November 28, 1789. He found that there were no quarters or tents available for him; and on this being represented to the Board he was permitted to reside at Arcot. That his Paymastership was an entirely unnecessary appointment is shown by the smallness of the detachment (only sixty-eight, men) at Chunderghurry, and the fact that the duty of paying them had previously been satisfactorily carried out by the Paymaster of Vellore. The transfer seems to have been a mere excuse to 'banish him from the presidency,' so that it should be out of his power to thwart or expose any unjustifiable measures of John Hollond. The Court of Directors in London took this view in their orders on the Memorial that Haliburton submitted to them in 1790. That this was Hollond's object is confirmed by his refusal to let Haliburton come to Madras on leave, although he was allowed to live seventy miles from his station. It was not till March 1790 that he was permitted by the new Governor, Major-General Medows, to resign his office of Paymaster and return to Madras.

Even then things did not go smoothly for him. His immediate application for a committee to enquire into the circumstances of the accusations against him was refused. This may have been due to the influence of E. J. Hollond, who remained on as Member of Council till he was removed from his post by the order of the Governor-General in April 1790. Then things became better. Haliburton was re-appointed to his post on the Board of Revenue in July 1790. In September 1791 the favourable orders of the Court of Directors on his Memorial were received. These severely condemned the unjust and dishonest behaviour of the two Hollonds and ordered a Committee of enquiry to be held. This was appointed in February 1792. It examined the principal parties to the conspiracy, and the three imitators of Titus Oates confessed their complicity in the plot. The Committee in July 1792 made a detailed report of the result of their enquiries regarding 'the wicked combination and intrigue' against Haliburton. Upon this, the latter lodged information against Hollond, his brother and two others with a criminal conspiracy.

The four accused were tried on July 12 and 13, 1792, by a Jury in a Court of Quarter Sessions presided over by the Governor-in-Council who had thus jurisdiction under the East India Company Act, 1778 (28 Geo. III, c. 57, S. 30). Among the witnesses for the prosecution were Haliburton and the three approvers; and some evidence was also called by the accused. There appears to have been no summing up beyond a short statement by the Clerk of the Peace regarding the law of evidence applicable, but the Counsel for one of the accused addressed the Jury, and the three undefended accused put in a written statement. The Jury found them all guilty with a recommendation to leniency. All four were sentenced to imprisonment and fine, Patpiah being the most severely punished with a term of imprisonment for three years and a fine of £2,000. They were also ordered to stand in the pillory for an hour, but this part of the sentence was remitted, in view of the Jury's recommendation to mercy.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the conviction was fully justified. The evidence of the three approvers agreed substantially and was given in such detail as could hardly have been invented. A clear motive for the crime was also established. The conspirators, however, had very highly placed and unscrupulous backing, and in the circumstances Haliburton could well say (as he does in his Preface) that 'to have traced so complicated and subtle a conspiracy to its source, at a distance of two years and a half after its purposes had been effected showed an almost providential interposition in my favour.'

Whether retribution caught the two Hollonds is not clear. Both, as already mentioned, ceased to hold their office in 1790, and appear from Prinsep's *Madras Record of Services* to have had no further employment in India. The Court of Directors are likely to have done what they could to prosecute them; and Haliburton gives an extract from the Attorney-General's draft indictment against them, which charges John Hollond with illegally, oppressively and unjustly removing Haliburton from his offices. On the other hand Wheeler's *Short History of India*¹ refers to Hollond as one of the band of Nabobs, whose parade of wealth and scandalous intrigues in England were so startling in the latter half of the eighteenth century; and both brothers may have managed to escape the due penalty of their misdeeds.

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 361.

The following letter has reference to the above articles :—

AVADHANUM PAUPIAH

To the Editor of 'The Times of India'

SIR,

My attention has been drawn to the account of the 'Trial of Avadhanum Paupiah, Brahmin, in 1792' when appeared in your columns a few days ago. 'Judex' has mentioned the pamphlet published by Murray in 1793 and contained in a volume of *Indian Tracts* in the Library at Bombay. I have not had access to this edition, but I have read a later edition of the account of the trial, printed at Madras in 1825, available at the Consemora Library, at Madras.

I may point to one or two circumstances, overlooked by 'Judex,' which render the trial of Paupiah of more than ordinary interest. The motive which prompted Haliburton to publish an account of the trial was, as he set forth, to lead 'to a knowledge of the unprincipled sedacity of the natives of India, when under the patronage of men in power; and tend to guard all persons who may hereafter hold high and responsible situations under the Honourable Company, against the wily wickedness of dubashes, who have heretofore had too considerable an influence over men in situation, in this Presidency.' This kind of 'underling' has been a definite type experienced in British India. Even to-day, there are 'head clerks,' 'managers,' and 'personal assistants' wielding an amount of influence in public offices which have always aroused popular bitterness.

The enormous influence wielded by Paupiah is made evident by Haliburton's little book. He was the only dubash ('dur-bashi,' bi-lingual) permitted to be present at the meetings of the Governor's Council. He had access to the Governor even at midnight, when the latter was undressed. Candapah, one of the witnesses at the trial, deposed that he had heard it said that if Paupiah willed, he could easily remove Haliburton from the Board. Not even the Rajah of Tanjore could refuse the bidding of Paupiah. As long as Paupiah was known to be infirmal to Haliburton, the latter could get no witness to depose on his side.

Paupiah's name lives in a street of the name in Madras. But more than this, his name lives in English literature. ~~He is mentioned in Scott's novel The Surgeon's Daughter.~~

tion of the novelist, through his grandmother, and the account of the trial of Paupiah had reached the storehouse of the Wizard of the North and was duly utilized in the novel published in 1827. Paupiah is introduced in the novel directly by name and Scott apologises in a footnote for the anachronism, a careful study of the novel will show that an important event in the novel of the proceeding of the British *saheb* (political agent) from Fort St. George to Haidar's court belongs to 1790 and Paupiah's activities belong to 1789. What attracted Scott was the vindictive action on Paupiah's part in practically banishing Halliburton to Chandragiri. This is alluded to when Hartley in the novel, in his zeal to save Miss Menie Grey from the clutches of the Begum Montreville, was apt to speak too vehemently to Paupiah. Hartley was advised by his friends to restrain himself, 'lest the impassible Brahmin should see to excluding him from the capital and sending him to a feverish frontier where his medical ability would need to be exercised on himself.'

P. R. KRISHNASWAMI.

Note.—The above article and letter recently appeared in the *Times of India*, and my acknowledgments are due to its Editor, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, for permitting me to re-publish them. I am also indebted him for some further information about the two Hollonds.*

There are references to both of them in the *Memoirs of William Hickey*. At p. 390 of vol. III, Hickey mentions John Hollond's opposition to the orders of Lord Cornwallis about supporting the Raja of Travancore against Tippu Sultan, and adds:—'the Governor-General entertaining some doubt of his integrity, his lordship determined to proceed to the coast, there to take the command of the Army upon himself, and he was upon the eve of departure when a dispatch reached Calcutta announcing the arrival of His Majesty's frigate, the *Vestal*, which vessel brought out this nomination of Sir William Medows to the Government of Madras. Whereupon, Lord Cornwallis, knowing he might rely upon that gallant and experienced officer's executing any orders of his, relinquished the intention of going himself, and wrote to say what his objects were.'

* Halliburton's pamphlet and Prinsep's *Madras Record of Services* spell the name with an 'o' in the last syllable. This is probably correct; but in my editions in this note the name is given as it there appears.

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tion of the novelist, through his grandmother, and the account of the trial of Paupiah had reached the storehouse of the Wizard of the North and was duly utilised in the novel published in 1827. Paupiah is introduced in the novel directly by name and Scott apologises in a footnote for the anachronism; a careful study of the novel will show that an important event in the novel of the proceeding of the British *saheb* (political agent) from Fort St. George to Haider's court belongs to 1780 and Paupiah's activities belong to 1789. What attracted Scott was the vindictive action on Paupiah's part in practically banishing Haliburton to Chandragiri. This is alluded to when Hartley in the novel, in his zeal to save Miss Menie Grey from the clutches of the Begum Montreville, was apt to speak too vehemently to Paupiah. Hartley was advised by his friends to restrain himself, 'lest the impassible Brahmin should see to excluding him from the capital and sending him to a feverish frontier where his medical ability would need to be exercised on himself.'

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At p. 17 of vol. iv (second edition) Hickey writes: 'General Medows was now daily expected at the Presidency for the purpose of consulting with Lord Cornwallis upon the state of affairs and what ought to be the future proceedings. One strong measure adopted in consequence of these consultations was the arrest of Mr. Edward Holland, a member of the Council of Madras and brother to the gentleman who had recently been Governor. Mr. Holland was taken into custody by a military party, and without the least pause, or being suffered to have any communication with his friends, was sent on board the East Indiaman *Rodney*, then lying in the roads under dispatch for Europe, the captain of her in his instructions being directed to keep him a close prisoner until he should land him in England and receive the orders of the Court of Directors. As the captain of the *Rodney* made some objections to receiving Mr. Holland under such extraordinary circumstances, on account of the responsibility he laid himself open to for so violent a proceeding, stating that he thereby become liable to a prosecution for assault and false imprisonment, Lord Cornwallis seeing then force of the captain's representation, at once, in his official capacity, undertook to bear the said captain harmless. Report gave out that the charges against Mr. Holland were of a most serious nature, being nothing short of treason, for he was said to have been discovered in a dangerous correspondence with the enemy. What the final issue was, I do not now recollect, but certainly it ended in no serious attack upon Mr. Holland.'

The last statement of William Hickey is borne out by a manuscript diary of the Hon. C. A. Bruce, brother of Lord Elgin of Elgin Marbles Fame. This is now in the possession of Mr. Sheppard, who has been good enough to let me see it. Bruce was for some time in Calcutta, and Hickey names him as among his guests at his country-house at Chinsurah in 1797.¹ In 1800 Bruce was in England; and in July he left London to return to India by the overland route through Constantinople, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. On his way he stopped at Vienna, where he met Mr. Edward Holland, whom he describes as 'late of Madras.' The diary entry of 1st September, 1800, shows he called on Holland, so the latter was evidently 'in society' at Vienna. The succeeding entries show that he went about almost daily with

Hollond, sight-seeing in the vicinity. The entry of September 12 says. ' Mr. Hollond and I went to the Picture Gallery at Belvidere, there is a great number of pictures especially from the Italian School, but my curiosity was soon gratified and I retired. I afterwards took leave of Mr. Hollond in whose company I had passed so many pleasant days, and remained in hopes that he would join me at Constantinople, and proceed overland to India, which he promised to do if he could return from Trieste in time, that is, in six weeks '

Hollond did not, however, join Bruce in his journey from Constantinople, and having regard to the circumstances under which he had left Madras, it seems unlikely that he could have really ever intended to return to India. He may also have been keeping away from England for fear of prosecution. but from the glimpse of him afforded by Bruce's diary he appears to have been flourishing, in spite of his alleged misdeeds.

Perhaps some reader of this Journal may be able to throw further light on the query put at the end of my article ?

C. G. H. F.

JOURNAL

Yādavas mentioned in the Religious Books of the Mahānubhāvās

BY

Y. R. GURUR, B.A., M.B.A.S.,

Karad

To judge by the references to the Dēvagiri Yādavas in the nice little book entitled the *Mahānubhāvās Marāṭhī Vālmaya*, published by Mr. Y. K. Deshapande, M.A., LL.B., pleader of Yeotmal in Berar; the earlier holy books of the Mahānubhāvās written in Marāṭhī, their scriptural language will doubtless throw a sidelight on the history of this branch of the Yādavas. We cannot in future afford to ignore them. As many of their authors were contemporaries of these most renowned rulers, their testimonies are valuable. Written in conventional scripts they remained almost sealed books until quite recently. Mahant Dattarāja was the first saint who liberally opened the doors of the archives of this sect. Mr. Deshapande has dealt with the books of the Mahānubhāvās mainly from the literary standpoint. I take this opportunity of bringing to the notice of the historians only those important facts in them which have a bearing on the history of the Dēvagiri Yādavas.

Dr. J. F. Fleet in his *Dynasties of the Konkan Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, remarks on p. 72: 'It is in his time (in the time of Singhana II) in *Saka* 1132 that we first have Dēvagiri mentioned as the capital.' But from the *Lalcharitra* composed about *Saka* 1184-1193, we learn that it was Bhīlāma, who first shifted the seat of Government to Dēvagiri from Śrinagara, which according to the Mahānubhāvās is Sinar in the Nasik district of the Bombay Presidency. Hēmodri's *Pratishkhaṇḍa* confirms this statement. At Śrinagara was erected a Mahānubhāvī Maṭha or Monastery called the Bhīlāma Maṭha after the Yādava ruler Bhīlāma. This place is still considered holy by the Mahānubhāvās and visited by many pilgrims. It was in the

Bhīlāma Monastery that Santōshamuni Kṛṣṇapādāsa at a later date completed his immortal work the *Rahamānāyastotra* in Śaka 1480.

Sinnar was believed to be a corruption of Sindinār, mentioned in a copperplate of A. D. 1069.¹ Now it appears to be fairly certain that it is the representative of Śrinagara.

Mr Y. K. Deshpande says, on page 15 of his *Mahānubhāviya Marāṭhi Vāṁmaya* that Mahādēva was Kanhara's (Kṛṣṇa's) son. The passage in the *Līlācharitra* translated below, however, uses the word 'Dhātaka' that is younger. It is evident, therefore, that Mahādēva was the younger brother of Kanhara. No reasonable doubt can be entertained as in the Appendix C quoted by the late Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar from the introduction to the *Vṛtāntakhaṇḍa* of Hēmadri, the contemporary of Mahādēva and Rāmachandra, the following verse occurs :—

कुण्णो महादेव इति प्रतीती जाती ततः सिंहदुर्गस्य पीथी ।

तस्योस्तु पूर्वप्रभवः पुस्तान् कुण्णोऽभिख्यातमतिर्गुणोन्मू ।

Again further on we find :—

स भूमिपात्रो जनयाम्भू कुण्णमहादेवमहीपतिम् ।

हिताय लोक्तस्य पथा पयोविधिन्तामणिं कौस्तुभमयुदारम् ॥

A contemporary minister is not likely to make a mistake regarding his very patron's relationship.

From the passages quoted from the *Līlācharitra* by Mr. Deshpande, the following historical facts can be gleaned :—

'While Chakradhara was staying at Lōṇār, Kānharadēva Rāya accompanied by his younger (brother) Mahādēva, went to pay his respects to him on the Paryasi of Sōmavati in Śaka 1178. The offerings made by the royal personages were not accepted for personal use, but with the sum a pavilion of the goddess Kamalajī, a flight of steps of Kumārēśvara and a rest-house were built.

Āmaga was the son of Mahādēva and is referred to only in one inscription, viz., the Aurangabad grant. Dr. Fleet remarks in his *Dynasties of the Konkan Districts of the Bombay Presidency* on page 74

¹ Please vide *District Gazetteer*, Bombay Presidency, vol. xvi, p. 648.

as follows :—' He (Āmapādeva) seems to have made an attempt to succeed his father, but to have failed, as the inscription describes Rāmachandra as forcibly wresting the kingdom from him.' *Līlācharitra*, however, makes it clear that Āmapādeva not only tried to succeed his father but as a matter of fact did ascend the throne. It is distinctly stated that there was a change in rule and that Āmapādeva was dethroned. This was not the only punishment which was meted out to him. A worse share fell to his lot. Unlike the treatment generally given by the Hindu rulers to their kinsmen, Āmapādeva's eyes were put out, we may assume at the injunctions of Rāmachandra, who came on the throne. The record further tells us that Narsakhadēva ran away. Who this Narsakhadēva was is yet a mystery. He might be the dethroned monarch's son or relative or even his minister or general. The present passage corroborates the statement in the Aurangabad grant, viz., Rāmachandra forcibly wrested the kingdom from Āmapādeva.

It seems desirable to quote and translate the Marāṭhi passages in the *Līlācharitra* from which the above inferences are drawn.

The passage on page 15 of the *Mahānāṭhāya Marāṭhi Vākya* runs as follows :—

“कुंडी येखी बबरखान रासया दर्शन (छोणारी) छोमवती फीं कान्हर-
देय राय दर्शना बाळ. सुनागर्मे महादेव राय बाळुठा होता. रायेनी बासु
दर्शन केल्या परो न केता तयापि आनि धुतकेची बास पाहता बंदीजन मणतीः
‘बेईं छोनी. सिंगणाचा कान्ह प्रसन्न बाळ,’ त्या इत्याचा खोकर न करता
कमळनेच मंडप. कुमारेभरीच बाहु अणि पीळी. मग पुना सरखिल, हाके
११७८ ” वगैरे.

Translation :—

'While (Chakradhara) was residing near the tank of Bhaṛava (at Lōṅār), Kānharādēya Rāya came to pay his respects to him on the Pūrva (Pūrvan) of Sōmavati. Mahādēva Rāya, the younger (brother) was with him. (Chakradhara) did not accept the coins presented at the visit by the king. The (royal) followers waited for a moment and then said: 'Please receive (the coins). Kānha (grandson) of

Singhana (Singhana) is pleased.' Instead of accepting the sum a pavilion of Kamalajā (goddess) a flight of steps of Kumārēśvara and a rest-house (round it) were built and then plastered with chunam. *Saka* 1178, etc.

The passage on page 16 of the *Mahānubhātya Marathi Vālmaya*, runs as follows :—

“तव इन्द्रभट तेऊ भेवोनि आले: सर्वज्ञ माणितिले ‘इंद्रेशो गांवातु बातों काइ मातु’ : ‘की काहीं नाहींकी’ : सर्वज्ञ मणीतिले ‘बातां कौसो घा काहीं नाहीं’ : राज्यांतर आळें: रामदेवो राबो राज्यों बैसला: आमणदेवो जाळि लतरील्य: देवगोरि पाल्हीको । तथा हा नगडे छोळु पळतु अर्से: । हा होए: जा बातां शोबा: तुमचे ए गांवीं खोद्रे अवति: ज्ञान बातां कौसी नाहीं । कौसे काहीं नाहीं: एतणें राज्यांतर आळें: आमणदेवाचे बोळे वगळें: रामदेवो राबो बैसल्य: ए नगडे की: आयाळें जालें वसोति’ : मणीनि सर्वज्ञ तथा जाडारें झोकरें दाखवीलें: सर्वज्ञ मणितिले: ‘एक बेळ शोबा पांजा’ : । छ । ही कां जी मणीनि इन्द्रभट मागुते गेले: झोपिले: एवोनि सर्वज्ञांपुर्वें सांखितिले: ‘साच जो: हें काई हो अपूर्व:’ वेही मणितिले: हातो सेहाणी मास्कि: पाट् सेहाणो मेदिळा नरसिंहदेवो पळाव्य: आमणदेवाचे बोळे वगळिले: रामदेवो राबो राज्यों बैसला: जीचे शोबीनु आले: सर्वज्ञ पुवारां सविबळ सांखितिले: तंव छोळु वय रेंवीनु पाहात अर्से: मत गोसावो देऊळांत बोर्बे केले । १२ ।

Translation :—

‘Then Indrabhatta brought off. The Omniscient (Chakradhara) asked: “Oh Indra what is the news in the village.” “No news, Sir.” The Omniscient said: “How is it that there is no news? Revolution took place. Rāmadēva Rāya ascended the throne. Āmapadēva came down (was dethroned). Dēvagiri is changed. Are not these people running away? Yes, they are. Go make enquiries. You have your relations in the village. And how is it that there is no news? How is it that there is nothing (particular)? There is such a great revolution. Āmapadēva’s eyes were put out. Rāmadēva sat on the throne. Look

here! Are not the wounded passing?" Saying this the Omniscient pointed him the bullock carts with his hand. The Omniscient said: "Please go and make enquiries once. Indrabhatta went back, saying 'Yes, Sir.' He enquired and told the Omniscient: "True, Sir. This is wonderful." People said: "The elephant was killed by the lion. The back was broken by the lion (?) Narasimhadēva ran away. Āmapadēva's eyes were put out. Rāmadēva Rāya ascended the throne." These enquiries he made and returned and told the story in detail to the Omniscient. Just then the people began to see this on climbing to their houses. The master (Chakradhara) then went into the temple.¹

Līlāchārītra also supplies us with the following items of information. Mahādēva Rāya Yādava's queen Vijāi erected the famous Vajrañāth Temple at Paithan (at present included in His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions). The name of Mahādēva's consort was not known to us up till now. Mr. Y. K. Deshapande informs me that it is further on record that Mahādēva Rāya had an interview with Chakradhara, the Omniscient at Śrinagara (Sinnar).²

Mahānubhāva Harāhī Vālmāya also tells us that Ananta Bhatta, the grandfather of the two celebrated Mahānubhāva writers Anūrāja Vyāsa and Kōśava Vyāsa, was the treasurer (*śākhādātārī*) of Kōshava Dēva Rāya Yādava.

Nāgadēvāchārya was a disciple of Chakradhara. The biography of the former saint, written by Narēndrakavi Ayaśchitā, a contemporary of Rāmadēva Rāya Yādava supplies us with the name of the monarch's queen, Kāmālī, who twice paid her respects to him. Her name was not known up till now.

Rāmādēvāpādevāra was composed by Narēndrakavi in Śaka 1210. On the book being read out to Rāmadēva Rāya, it is said, that he was much pleased. It is to his credit that the poet was amply rewarded. Indeed scholarship and enlightenment under this eminent ruler kept pace with the prosperity of his kingdom. In the heyday of the Dēvagiri Yādavas talents were much indented upon.

Munivāsa Kumārānūya, the author of the *Śāntasūktī*, written in Śaka 1275, was a Durbār of Rāmadēva Rāya Yādava.

It is interesting to find that the *Riddhāparameśthī* records the

¹ His private letter addressed to me dated February 2, 1929.

extent of the Mahārāṣṭra as it was understood by the end of the twelfth century A. D. The Vindhya Range formed the northern boundary. The River Kṛishṇā was to the south. The 'Woody regions' lay to the east, the western boundary being the Konkan.

It is evident, therefore, that the *Līlācharitra*, the *Nāgadvachārya-charitra* and the other works of the Mahānubhāvās are of peculiar value to the historians, whose labours will be rewarded by their critical study. Mr. Y. K. Deshapānde will be doing a good service to the history of the Deccan if he undertakes to edit these books.

Amitasagarar:

KEY

PAJITT M. RAGHAVA AYYANGAR

It is well known that among the works on Tamil prosody *Yāpparubalalan* and *Karikai* are the best. The author of both these works is Amitaṅgarar,² a jain ascetic and he appears to have composed *Yāpparubalalan* before the *Karikai*.³

The author's name is variously given as *Amitasāgarar* and *Amitasāgarar*. The prefatory verse to *Yāpparūbalan* gives the name as *Alapparan-kadar-peyarōn* and this has been well explained to be the Tamil rendering of the poet's name* *Amitasāgaran*—*Alapparan* or limitless being the Tamil form of *amita* and *Kadar-peyarōn* of *sāgaran*. It appears therefore that *Amitasāgarar* is the more correct form of the poet's name.

Very important matter connected with the poet has been made available to the public by the publication, in the *Epigraphica Indica*² of the Nāṭṭr inscriptions by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., Assistant Epigraphist, Madras. The inscriptions are in verse. The errors due to the stone engraver's ignorance of the language added to his carelessness tend to obliterate the true form of the verse: but a skilful application of the rules of prosody, however, yields us the following as the verses actually composed by the poet.—

First Inscription

[illegible]

¹A free translation from Tamil by R. Narayanan, U.S.A.

* That the author of both these works is the same person is obvious from the *Vaṣṣanabhāṣya* commentary writing, after citing the 18th verse of the *Kīrtihai*, 'Thus says the author of this work'. That the *Kīrtihai* is the work of *Ambikāgarer*, is clear both from the preface to the *Kīrtihai* itself and the commentary to the 30th verse of *Alakhaṣaṣṭakam* in the *Vira-saḍvaṃśa*.

⁷ As the commentator writes: 'உயர்ப்படுத்தலால் எந்தும் உயர்ப்பித்து அகலாது, அகலிற்றுமே தவிர உயர்ப்பட்டவையால், உயர்ப்படுத்தலாகாவதில் எந்தும் உயர்ப்பிதும்'.

* Originally by Mr. S. Anavanta Vinayakam Pillai, M.A., I.T.

² Vol. XIII, pp. 64-69.

perumāl nāyanār, and a *manappa* for the popular exposition of the *perugas* in the forty-sixth year of the reign of Kulōttunga. He is styled in this record as the *marumān* of the chief who caused Amittasāgarar to compose the *Kārikai*. From the palmography of the inscription and the length of the king's reign Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar comes to the conclusion that the reigning sovereign mentioned therein is Kulōttunga I. On the basis of the text '*arūlān marumān nāyanār*,' taking *marumān* to mean sister's son, he proceeds to establish that Amittasāgarar, the chief his patron, and his *marumān* Kaṇḍan-māḍavan were all contemporaries of Kulōttunga I. But in works of a more ancient character, we rarely find *marumān* used in the sense of sister's son; it simply means a descendant, removed from the ancestor by more than one degree.¹

If Kaṇḍan-māḍavan is mentioned in his inscription as the *marumān* of Amittasāgarar's patron it is because of the other's glory in having made available to the world such a work as the *Kārikai*, and if, as suggested by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar, that patron is the uncle, we can surely expect to find his name in the inscription. The fact that the inscription leaves unmentioned the name of this illustrious ancestor leaves room for the reasonable doubt if, at the time of the inscription, his name had not already faded away from memory, with only a faint association of the *Kārikai* with *Kārikak-kuḷattār* and the distinguished family at whose instance it was composed surviving.

In my article on 'Mandala-puruṣa' in the *Mythic Society Journal*,² (Vol. xiii, p. 490) while fixing the upper limit of his age, I had occasion to point out that he mentions in unambiguous terms, the book *Kārikai*³ and that therefore he could not have lived earlier than the tenth century, which ample reasons confirm to be the time when Amittasāgarar himself lived. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar hopes that they would have been based on good grounds and as the grounds

¹ 'மருமான் பிள்ளை என்பது வழித்தாய்தான் (பிள்ளை),

'குடபுள்ளி எனவே மருமான்.'

'மருமான் என்பது மருமான்.'

'குடபுள்ளி எனவே மருமான்.' (தொல்காப்பியம், 47, 55, 79).

² 'மருமான் மருமான் மருமான்' (மருமான்).

³ 'மருமான் மருமான் மருமான் மருமான் மருமான்' (குடபுள்ளி மருமான், 11, 187).

This conclusion finds corroboration, as we shall see later, when a collateral enquiry concerning Amitasāgara's *Āchārya* is made. We learn from the prefatory verse to *Yāpparukkalai*¹ that the preceptor of Amitasāgarar was *Gaṇaś-haḍar-peyaṇṇ*, or in other words *Gaṇa-sāgara*. The commentator of the *Kārikai* is also a *Gaṇasāgara*. But it will be the height of absurdity to identify the preceptor with a later commentator of the poet. Who then was the preceptor *Gaṇasāgara* and when did he live?

Two inscriptions of the Kaṇku-malai* (Tinnevely) speak of a *Gaṇasāgara Bhaṭṭarar*, a famous Jain apostle who appointed preachers for disseminating the tenets of Jainism and endowed them with lands for maintenance. And this inscription mentions among others *Uttamachōlan* and *Viraṇārāyaṇar-ēri*. *Viraṇārāyaṇan* was the name of Parāntaka I (907-953) and *Uttamachōla* was *Madhurāntaka* (970-975), one of the grand-sons of Parāntaka I. From this it is obvious that *Gaṇasāgara Bhaṭṭarar* should have lived after the accession of *Madhurāntaka* (970). That *Gaṇasāgara Bhaṭṭarar* should have lived at about 970 can be arrived at by a study of the Pandian genealogy. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar finds that the *Mīraṇ-ṇāyaṇ* mentioned in the Kaṇku-malai inscriptions, should be the son of *Rājasimha Pāḍiyan*, the grantor of the *Śhīlamanoor* bigger plates who ascended the throne in the early part of the tenth century. If this be correct, we can expect his son to be on the throne by 970 and hence be a contemporary of *Madhurāntaka* and *Gaṇasāgara Bhaṭṭarar*.

We have seen already that *Amitasāgarar* should have lived before *Viraṇārāyaṇar* (1032), but how many decades before we cannot say. Hence, it may not unreasonably be expected that his preceptor *Gaṇasāgara* was famous by 970. It appears therefore clear that we cannot be mistaken in identifying *Gaṇasāgara* with *Gaṇasāgara Bhaṭṭaraka* their times being the same and both being great Jain *Āchāryas*. *Gaṇasāgara* being identified with *Gaṇasāgara Bhaṭṭaraka*, a contemporary of *Mīraṇ-ṇāyaṇ* and probably therefore of *Madu-*

¹ "பாபரக்கலை ஸ்தலப் பாபரர் ஸ்தலப்
முதல்கு ஸ்தலர்து ஸ்தலம்து ஸ்தலப்
ஸ்தலர்து ஸ்தலர்து ஸ்தலர்து ஸ்தலர்து."

* Vide Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar's *inscriptions*. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xiii, p. 68.

rāntaka, we can have no difficulty in regarding his disciple Amitasāgarar as a contemporary of Maṇḍurāntaka's successor Rājārāja I (985-1013).

No village bearing the name Kārikai-k-kuṣattār can now be pitched upon in Toṭṭai-nāḍu, as the place where the *Kārikai* was composed. But the Tiruvorriyūr inscriptions¹ dated the 28th regnal year of Parakēśari-varman Rājendra I (1011-1049) mentions a *Kārikai-p-pēṭṭu-nāḍu* in Puḷar-kūṭṭam. Kārikai-p-pēṭṭu may mean either the big town where the *Kārikai* was composed or the place bearing the name of the *Kārikai*, and Kārikai-p-pēṭṭu-nāḍu, is the division with the principality of Kārikai-p-pēṭṭu. Whatever the expression may mean, we may be certain that the place derived its name by its connection with the *Kārikai* of Amitasāgarar. With its name reminiscent of the *Kārikai* and situated in Jayas-konda-chōla-maṇḍalam, Kārikai-p-pēṭṭu of the Tiruvorriyūr inscriptions should in all probability be the Kārikai-k-kuṣattār of the Niḍur inscriptions.

This identification lends further support to the conclusion that Amitasāgarar should have lived in the reign of Rājārāja I. It is clear that by the reign of Rājendra I (1039), the *Kārikai* had so lent its name to the place where it was composed, that it became a permanent integral part of the name of the town itself. It is equally clear that Amitasāgarar's preceptor should have lived during Maṇḍurāntaka's reign (970-975). The only possible period, therefore, when Amitasāgarar could have composed the *Kārikai* is the intermediate reign of Rājārāja I.

The fact that the second inscription says that the chief caused Amitasāgarar to stay at his town in Toṭṭai-nāḍu seems to suggest that he was a native of neither the town nor of Toṭṭai-nāḍu itself. A certain amount of colour is lent to this view, in that the Toṭṭai-maṇḍala-śāhakarāṁ does not claim him as a native of Toṭṭai-nāḍu.

The commentator of the *Kārikai*, Guṇasāgarar, appears to have lived close to the time of Amitasāgarar, as can be seen from the entire absence of citations in praise of kings or chieftains who flourished later than the eleventh century. The proximity of time between Amitasāgarar and Guṇasāgarar, seems to suggest that the latter is a disciple of Amitasāgarar who bore the name of his preceptor's *śāṣṭya*

Sir William Norris at Masulipatam

BY

HARTEAR DAS, B. LITT. (OXON.), F. R. HIST. S.

SIR WILLIAM began at once to arrange for his journey to the Court of the Great Mogul. On October 10, 1699, he wrote to the Prime Minister, Assad Khan, asking him to notify the various Governors, through whose provinces he would pass, that they might grant safe conduct for himself and *escortage*, including artillery, as well as for the presents intended for Aurangzebe. At the same time he requested that the Mogul might be notified of his arrival. A few days later, on October 16, he was waited on by Hadgi Mahomet Syed who had already—three weeks earlier—visited him. At the previous visit this person had represented himself as the agent of Sultan Shalim, the Mogul's eldest son, and to him Sir William had used the customary inflated expressions. He was afterwards discovered to be only the agent of a Moorish merchant and acting in the Old Company's interests. He now advised His Excellency that the usual way for an ambassador to announce his arrival was to acquaint the *Vaccanovis*^a with the fact. That officer, anxious to impress the new-comer, ascribed to the Mogul an army of 200,000 men, maintained at an annual charge of five millions sterling. To this Sir William, not to be outdone in boastfulness, records that he replied 'upon a greate pinch I believed if it was for ye security of ye kingdom of England yt sum might be doubled (by the King) wch made him strooke his beard.'

In about a week's time the Council of Embassy met to arrange for procuring two interpreters and two Englishmen with a knowledge of Persian—the latter to prevent misrepresentations on the part of the former. There was also discussed the best method of announcing to the Mogul the arrival of the Embassy. Consul Pitt was asked to arrange for the journey, and all hands set to work to expedite matters.

^a *Vaccanovis*—Mogul's public intelligence.

But since necessities like tents, palanquins, furniture, horses, etc., had all to be got from Golconda and Fort St. George, three hundred miles away, great dispatch was impossible.

A few days after the Council, Sir William wrote to Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat, informing him of his arrival at Masulipatam and of the preparations being made for proceeding to Bijapur where the Mogul was then said to be. He also requested Sir Nicholas to send on the presents intended for the Mogul so as to meet him on arrival at the latter's camp. He asked further for accurate information regarding the *shirasaunds*, privileges, freedom from customs and other advantages enjoyed by English nationals at Surat and elsewhere, as well as suggestions as to others desirable in the interests of trade. Then, anxious to assert his position at the outset, he asks Sir Nicholas to make it clear to the President and Factors of the Old Company that as English ambassador he alone was empowered to redress the grievances of his countrymen, who must bring to him all complaints against either the Mogul's subjects or one another. He added, 'I would have them acquainted . . . that they may not plead ignorance.' Already he had formed the opinion that as many 'governors and great men' besides the Mogul would have to be 'gratified', the presents sent from London were 'much too short', so he asked Sir Nicholas to procure what other articles he might consider likely to be acceptable.

A letter from Mr. Edward Norris also informed Sir Nicholas of the ambassador's arrival. Dealing with the difficulty of procuring good interpreters, Mr. Norris mentions that the Directors had suggested Nicola Manuchi, and Mr. Trenchfield. The latter, however, he points out, is unskilled in Moorish and Persian, while the former, although completely satisfactory, has not indicated whether or not he will accept the position and no other is in prospect. By the end of October an official dispatch written in Persian was sent to the Mogul announcing the ambassador's arrival and quality.

It now began to be obvious that Sir William's position as ambassador was not to be yielded to him without a struggle. On the 25th the Consul showed him a letter from the Governor of Fort St. George, 'in which he took not ye least notice of me.' Nor was it to his own countrymen only that he was an object of suspicion. An officer from the Dutch factory at Golconda was sent to discover the

nature of his errand and he believed that he was being spied upon from other quarters as well. Amid this general hostility, however, he received a civil letter from Simon Holcombe, Chief for the Old Company at Visagapatam, promising assistance and assuring him of his own loyalty. To this Sir William at once replied with a letter of thanks. The position was made still more uncomfortable by lack of money. The latter caused him to write on October 30, to Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal, requesting him to obtain bills of credit from eminent merchants, otherwise he would require to draw upon the factors. He further requested that his arrival should be notified to the Nabob or Governor of Bengal as well as to the Old Company's Presidents, chiefs and factors in that province.

The Old Company's hostility is well shown by a letter, written from Ahmedabad by Thomas Lucas to Consul John Pitt, dated November 2, 1699. After congratulating the Consul on his safe arrival Lucas proceeds to warn him of the Old Company's doings, and declares that they had boasted of their intention of showing the New Company such a trick as would make their stock not worth a rupee at two years' end. Mr. Lucas further expressed the opinion that Surat was more suitable than Masulipatam for the ambassador's operations because the former, he writes, 'had been the proper place being the eye of this great Empire, and the Government of it coveted and generally managed by the most eminent persons of it, and at all times may receive answers of letters in fourteen or fifteen days from Court and an easy journey thither.'

On November 2, Sir William records in his diary disagreement between the Consul and Mahomet Syed about presents for the Vaccanovia. 'I find,' he writes, 'ye whole contrivance in the kingdom from ye highest to ye lowest is to squeeze out of everybody as much as they can and see yt they gett anything care not how scandalously they come by it.' From the diary and other sources we have glimpses of his doings during these days of delay. On November 4, which was King William's birthday as well as that of the Mogul, he entertained all the Europeans including the staff of the Old Company, and also forty-nine guns were fired for each.¹ The *Kotwal*² sent him the

¹ See O. C., 55, Part II, No. 6954.

² The word is Indo-Persian, and signifies the Warden of a Castle or Fortress, or the governor of a town.

usual *saluts* ¹ on the 13th, the day of the new moon. He records that on the 15th he went out *incognito* in a palanquin and visited the English and Dutch cemeteries. At the grave of the Dutch ambassador he reflects 'I not farr of his age [45] . . . was a proper lesson of Mortality to me to make me thinke of my latter end' Next day he gleana information on Indian politics, and learns that a rising of the Gentoos, or non-Moslems, is likely owing to the levying on them of a tax similar to the English poll-tax. He recorded 'These poore Gentoos are miserably harrassed by ye Moorish Governmt since ye Mogull conquerd Golconda and tooke their Kinge prisoner.' He receiveth news that owing to pestilence the Mogul has removed his camp fifty leagues away thus increasing the distance between them, which he (Sir William) already thought long enough. The affairs of the Company receive their share of his attention and he learns with disgust that their debt at Surat was much greater than he had suspected.

Mindful of his ambassadorial dignity he has a seal 'cut in gold' with a Persian inscription 'His Excellency Sr Wm. Norris Baronnit Ambassadeour Extraordinary from ye Kinge, of England, Scotland France and Ireland to salute Allum Gueir anno Christi 1699.' The coming of winter fills him with apprehension. He records incidentally that there is no fall of the leaf, but what he had hitherto thought a 'fancy of ye poets. Perpetuum Ver.' On November 28, Mr. Bright, the Consul's surgeon died and the diary records its author's reflection that Masulipatam is very unhealthy because of the morass.

Sir William gives a vivid account of Masulipatam which may be thus summarised. The people depend on rice from the Bay (of Bengal). The land is rich but uncultivated; any paddy sown is claimed by the Mogul or Nabob. What little cultivation there is, is the work of one caste only. The people can keep as many cattle in the meadows as they like. The grass is not mown, but pulled up by men and women who carry it on their heads to the town. It is the highest impropriety to kill a cow. There is neither drainage nor ploughing, with frequent pestilences and famines in consequence. During the great famine of 1696 many sold themselves to the Dutch as slaves and were taken to Batavia and the Spice Islands where they still are in a state of slavery. Through decline in exportation trade has

¹ Greetings

failed. A fire in 1679 and later a flood had injured the town. There was great want of good water, his own was 'fetcht above 9 miles by Cooleys wch before I drinke I have boyled wth spice.' In the town are from thirty to forty little mosques, which are little frequented as the inhabitants are chiefly Gentoos. Aurangsebe had destroyed all their 'pagodas' and kept the Gentoos in total subjection, they 'being an effeminate weake unarmed people whose principle for ye most part is not to kill.' When fighting was necessary they appealed for help to the Rajputs. 'I make no complement to my Country att all' he adds, 'when I attest yt 20,000 Englishmen well armed would beate all ye Mogulls Army both Moores and Gentoos' Provisions were good and Sir William mentions that he had '14 or 18 good dishes every day att dinner.'

The coinage current at the time was in pagodas, rupees, cash and pice. The rupee at $2\frac{2}{3}$ sterling was the standard unit, and the other relative values were as follows :—1 pagoda = $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees ; 46 cash = 1 rupee ; 69 pice = 1 rupee. Sir William had instructions to institute a mint at Masulipatam in order to checkmate the Old Company who in changing dollars to rupees charged at the rate of ten per cent.

About the beginning of December our ambassador's attention appears to have been withdrawn from the description of outward things to matters of greater inwardness. The change of Nabob gave him an insight into the character of the Brahmens. They had been ordered to get their accounts ready and to stop paying Medo Khan's (the new Nabob's) predecessor. In connection with this he notes that the Brahmens are 'expert and cunninge in all ways of gain as any sort of men in any Nation, and I beleive could outwit . . . any Jews.' Still deeper do his observations go, for after discoursing with a learned Brahman on his religion and the Sanskrit language he seems to have become convinced himself from what he learned that the former had its foundation in Christianity. Possibly recent letters had turned his thoughts to religious matters for on December 4 he had learnt of the death of Mr. Philip Pitt, chaplain and kinsman to the Consul of that name.

But public affairs demanded attention. The new Nabob made his formal entry into Masulipatam on December 3, and Sir William from a balcony watched the procession pass, ordering twenty-one guns to be fired as soon as the Nabob took his seat in the 'Bankajil'.

Neither took any private notice of the other's presence, but Sir William continued his public courtesy by ordering that music should be played as the Nabob's party passed by. Thereafter an officer ostensibly sent by the Mogul to tax the Gentoos arrived with fifty horses, causing disturbance and fighting. Later on he withdrew and Sir William suspected that he had no authority from the Mogul at all. News came too that Aurangzebe and his army were continually on the march and that the new Nabob had lost his commission. These varied happenings caused great inconvenience to the English at Masulipatam and Surat. And an official letter to Consul Pitt expressed the utmost regret that Sir William had not been ordered to Surat instead of Masulipatam.

As we follow the career of the ambassador practically throughout this mission to the Mogul we learn much from records and reports of the condition of the people, their trade with the English and the difficulties experienced by the latter from want of the ordinary facilities of communication. The Gentoos were plainly subject to the Moslems as a conquered people. The English factories had contracts with the former, but not with the latter, from whom apparently fulfilment could not be exacted. Sir William mentions specially the difficulties of communication, 'such a convenience as a post not being suffered.'

He feels his way slowly as he goes along, learns that personal importance is reckoned by the number of 'Dulasses and Peans he keeps'—he had 120. He writes that the Shubah of Golconda offered to obtain freedom from the Mogul's taxes for the English in consideration of Rs. 20,000, and remarks this 'will be a cheape panlworth if to be had for such a sum.' The offer was not accepted. He observes shrewdly, and records this reflection as the following comparison shows :

'The Governour att Madapolam it seemes is a Gentoos which is not usual . . . ye Gentoos when he gets in office is apt to be very Haughty and Insolent for beings in Reality ye antient Inhabitants and possessors of Indostan they are a little of ye Humour of our Welsh men who believing themselves to be ye true antient Brittaines value themselves upon it and if ever they gett in authority take care to exercise to ye height and thinke it is their due to Load it over those they have under their subjection.'

There was some quarrel between the Gentoos Governor at Madapolam and Mr. Holcombe of the old factory ; but any development

was prevented by the brass guns of the factory as 'natives much fear firearms'. During an excursion into the country in mid-December he saw an antelope hunted by English greyhounds. He was seriously asked more than once by people in responsible positions if he were the King of Golconda in disguise, and explains the error quaintly by remarking 'wt confirmed ym in yt opinion was yt I never stird abroad.'

Meanwhile he was informed by the Council from Surat, under date of December 12, 1699, that the Company's ship *Norris* had arrived with the result that the noisy insolence of the Old Company's servants was to some extent abated. At the same time the belief was expressed that old Company's agents were at the Mogul Court using money freely to obstruct his (Sir William's) mission. The writers further informed him that Sir Nicholas Waite would shortly communicate any necessary information and meanwhile they wished him to know that 'the avarice of the Governors and other officers here, and the dilatory and irregular proceedings in discharge of goods at the custom house, make the trade very chargeable and uneasy, and indeed the frequent imprisonment of the merchants from Europe upon the least caprice of the Governor, is a grievance almost intolerable; they in the New Company's service, as well as the rest, are at this time confined within the walls of the city, and are not suffered to go out without leave first granted by the Governor, which is no easy matter to obtain.'¹ A later letter announces the arrival at Surat of the new Governor and Dewan² and records that several conferences had taken place between the former and agents of the Dutch Company. The latter were demanding the return of an undertaking extracted from them by the late Governor to the effect that they would protect the ships of the Mogul and his subjects from pirates in the sea. It was believed that to force compliance the Dutch intended to land 700 men at Swally. The Old Company and the French had given similar undertakings to secure freedom of trade in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere, but would probably wait before attempting their recovery to see what success the Dutch might have. There was a report also that Commodore Warren³ had died.

¹ See *Factory Records*, misc., vol. 18, India Office.

² Financial Minister.

³ Warren died at Calcut.

A letter, dated December 20, from the Court of Directors in London records matters from the home point of view. Pleasure is expressed at the progress he has made and intimation is given that they are sending for the Coast and Bay '£150,000 in money and £20,000 in cloth and other merchandises.' Matters between the Old and New Companies remain as before. Remonstrances from the Mogul concerning repeated piracies had stirred the Government to a display of zeal. Parliament had sat since November 16, but no petition had as yet been presented by the Old Company. Several pirates had been tried lately including some of Avery's crew, and six executed that very day; accommodation near the place of execution having been provided in order that some *Laucers*^a might witness it and spread the news after return to their own country. Sir William is directed too to make the most of this as a signal instance of English justice. They repeat their confidence that the ambassador will do his best to forward their interests and desire that he will impress on the Mogul their dependence rather on *his* justice than on any display of force. All they ask is a *patrimond* securing trade. They request a detailed account of how matters stand in India between the Old and the New Companies and close with the injunction that he will 'endeavour to comply with the humours of the natives so far as is consistent with your honour'

On December 23 the diary records that Masulipatam has been occupied on behalf of the new Nabob by a Dewan and in this connection it now gives some evidence of suspicion on the part of its author that disloyalty and even worse on the part of some Englishmen existed. There is reference to a 'cowie' obtained from the Nabob by Mr. Holcombe forbidding trade on the coast by English ships except those allowed by the former and Mr. Lovell. Something is also said about an order to empower the raising of horses by which to drive out all the English. Sir William thought Mr. Lovell had not been sincere in his dealings. This suspicion was not without foundation as the records show that since the ambassador's arrival at Masulipatam, Thomas Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George, had kept himself constantly informed of Sir William's movements, and also asked Mr. Lovell's assistance in that matter and wrote to him: 'methinks itt should not be difficult

^a Indian sailors.

for you to have good information tho' att some charge.' This request for news was repeated in other letters to Mr. Lovell and Mr. Woolston by Thomas Pitt.¹ Sir William was being closely watched by spies who reported everything to the Old Company. Personally, however, he appears to have felt that he had been able to defeat these under-hand activities, for he writes 'It was perhaps happy for ye Company yt I came to this place havinge frustrated their villanous designes and kept ym in Aw and in some bounde.' He adds his opinion that the old Nabob was 'a fit instrument for ye Old Company to make use of to doe whatever they will have him.' It was fortunate, therefore, that a new Nabob should displace him. He records also the opinion that 'a large present' will be necessary to secure favour for the New Company's interest, there being no other way to gain 'either favour or justice in this Government.'

The prospect of the new regime caused him some anxiety. He heard that a 'reformation of manners' was to be inaugurated, involving the closing of houses where strong drink was sold and the expulsion of loose women. As the new Nabob could embarrass the Company's affairs and even stop their trade his own course as their representative gave him considerable thought. And as the favour of the King of Golconda could no longer be depended on, Sir William finally decided to send his chief Dubash, or interpreter, with presents. This was in contrast to the action of the Dutch chief who was going in person to 'crouch and cringe.' The reformation of manners was he believed simply an excuse to get money, for 'the higher authority squeezes ye lower, and ye Mogull squeezes all.' The chief Dubash returned on the 30th and reported his having met the Nabob and presented him with three gold moharr and his son with two.

Indian feeling at this time is indicated in a letter from the Secretary of State, Mr. James Vernon, dated January 1, 1700. In it he expresses a fear of great bitterness on the part of the Mogul's subjects against Europeans, more especially the English, on account of piracy. This feeling was undoubtedly intensified, he thinks, by friction between the Old Company's factors and their creditors, and he expresses the hope that Sir William will use his influence to reduce it.²

¹ See Nos. 4, 12, 16 of Addl. MS., 22042, British Museum.

² See Factory Records, Misc. 12, India Office.

On New Year's Day, 1699-1700, Sir William sent Consul Pitt and Mr Graham, second in charge of the factory, attended by Mr. Harewyn and Mr Mill to have audience with the new Nabob, who had now arrived. They went in state accompanied by an imposing retinue bearing blunderbusses, trumpets, flags and country drums (The last mentioned the Dutch had not been allowed to bring.) Their instructions were to compliment the Nabob in the Ambassador's name and to assure him of the latter's pleasure at the new and deserved honour bestowed on him by the Mogul. Further, they were to inform the Nabob of Sir William's status as ambassador extraordinary from the King of England to Aurangzebe and that his mission was to treat of several weighty affairs in order to the 'better settlement of the English trade in the Mogul's dominions.' Before this deputation set out matters as to etiquette had been carefully considered and Consul Pitt was instructed 'upon his access to make only one small bow with his Hatt on and to sit down with his Hatt on next to ye Nabob.' The Nabob received them in great state and the message was delivered to him by Consul Pitt as spokesman and head who, at the same time presented 'a curious watch with Persian characters and his son a silver snuff-box.'

Sir William's own record of the new Nabob Meda Khan's entry into Masulipatam which took place on January 4, is to the effect that he came 'on an elephant, attended by about 500 horse and as many foot, he sent a compliment to me by two officers, which I returned in like manner before he went out of town' He comments: 'I am well satisfied 50 Englishmen well mounted would have dispersed ye whole company Elephants and all.' The Nabob was saluted with music; and during his stay, ordered some scarlet and green cloth from the English factory, which were supplied without charge. After the ceremonial compliments were over Sir William directed the Consul to inform the Nabob of the establishment of the New Company by authority of the King and Parliament and to say further that the Old Company would cease to be on September 22, 1701. All this the Nabob received very pleasingly, assuring the Consul that everything would be as the ambassador desired.

The same night, however, Sir William was told that the Dewas had sent demanding 50,000 rupees Factory custom for goods imported since the settlement there and insisted on having that sum and nothing

less. He immediately ordered a reply to the effect that the English had never yet paid any custom there and would not begin now, that they 'were in possession of *phirmaunds* granted by the Kings of Golconda, a *Nashan*¹ from the Mogul's second son, *perwasas*² granted by all Nabobs.' Believing that this demand was the outcome of intrigue on the part of the Old Company, Sir William sent a message to the Nabob declaring his belief that such a message could not have been sent by him but had come without sanction from some of his officers. In reply the Nabob pretended ignorance but immediately after asked the Dubash what Sir William would give him if he granted the desired *Perwasas*. Unable to answer, the Dubash was sent to Sir William, practically to negotiate a gratuity. The latter was not surprised at the message and replied that it was beneath his dignity to make any such arrangement, but added that if the Nabob should grant freedom of trade such as the English had always enjoyed there he would see that a suitable 'return' was made. There was added a hint that the 'return' would be more valuable than had ever been given before. Then followed a species of dead-lock in which neither party trusted the other: Sir William became more and more suspicious of the whole business while the Nabob hampered the Company's activities as much as possible. The ambassador thus expresses himself 'indeed these people from top to bottom are so mercenary and used to bargains yt they have not ye least notion of Generosity.'

On January 6, Emannocoul Beg, Consul Pitt's agent, wrote from Assad Khan's camp acknowledging receipt of the Consul's letter announcing Sir William's arrival at Masulipatam and stating that he had shown it to the Nabob Zulphur Khan who had sent him to Assad Khan for *Daricks*,³ to be used by the ambassador. He further stated that he had written to the Mogul and the principal secretary, Phasseeli Khan, announcing His Excellency's arrival and assured him that the necessary *Daricks* would be provided. Vincatadre immediately replied thanking him for the service he had rendered and suggested that he should come in person to Masulipatam to convey the ambassador to Aurangzeb's presence. At the same time he

¹ Persian—the letter of a Prince; standard.

² Arabic—order, a written command.

³ A passport.

mentioned that orders had been given for the purchase of 50 camels and that a bill of exchange for Rs. 80,000 had been remitted, all by way of preparation for His Excellency's journey.

Meanwhile on January 11, Sir Nicholas Waite notified to Sir John Gayer from the *Montague* then three leagues off Bombay that he had been constituted Public Minister and Consul General with sole power to grant passports to the subjects of the Emperor and Princes of India, to settle all differences between His Majesty's subjects and to see preserved for them such privileges as his ambassador shall obtain.

On January 13, Consul Pitt wrote to Emauncooli Beg complimenting him on his arrangements for the ambassador's journey and mentioning that, the season being far advanced, Sir William would be ready to set out as soon as he should arrive.

There now follows an open manifestation of hostility from the Old Company. On January 15, news arrived from Fort St. George that two of the New Company's ships were at Surat and that there was no probability of agreement between the Companies. The letter was made clear by Thomas Pitt, who a day later wrote to Sir William protesting against his action in forbidding Mr. Thomas Lovell to communicate with any of the Mogul's officers and threatening should he do so to have him sent home in irons. Thomas Pitt stated also that the Old Company intended to continue their trade with the Government and informed Sir William that the injury he had already done by placing an embargo on their ships would be notified to the proper authorities. At the same time he wrote also to the Governor of Masulipatam complaining of hindrances offered to the factors of the Old Company by the New Company's agents who prevented the former from approaching the Nabob, Medo Khan. In another letter to Sir William he insisted that no hindrances should be offered to the Old Company's trade till September 1701, the date when the Old Company's existence was to come to an end.

At the same time, however, news arrived from Emauncooli Beg to the effect that by the Nabob's orders he was coming to Masulipatam to conduct the ambassador to the Mogul's camp. He wrote suavely of the preparations he was making out of friendship for the ambassador and gave glib assurances that His Excellency would see the Emperor and in due time be escorted back to Masulipatam with his mission

accomplished. His fair words were however discounted by slow performance. Nevertheless Sir William's hopes were raised and in a corresponding frame of mind he wrote to the President and Council at Surat. In this letter he asks Sir Nicholas Waite to perfect the arrangements necessary, mentioning what has been already done as well as what is still necessary. Among the latter he mentions carriages for his artillery and an escort of twelve men. His chief anxiety apparently was the lack of an interpreter. Mr. Trenchfield, already mentioned, was dead; Nicolo Mascot¹ had excused himself on account of age, blindness and other infirmities, and at Masulipatam no other with the necessary qualifications could be found.

Sir Nicholas Waite had arrived at Swally Bar on January 19, 1699-1700. As Consul-General he at once summoned the Council that he might be informed as to the progress of the Treaty and also that the Mogul should be officially informed of his arrival. Dianat Khan granted him a *Perwana* to the effect that he should be free from restraint at Surat, might hire a house there, have liberty of trade, have his merchandise immediately cleared at dues to be agreed on by the Mogul and the ambassador, have all necessities in the way of food and clothing free from customs dues and be at liberty to use such flags, trumpets, etc., as his official status should require. His arrival with the style of Consul was in itself an affront to the Old Company, while prompt attempts to use his powers did not tend to sweeten matters. He ordered Captain John Wyatt of the *Frederick* to strike his pennant and peremptorily summoned the English in the town to an audience aboard his ship. To this order Stephen Cok and the Council refused obedience and Waite then ordered the flag at Swally to be struck—the latter, it is said, at Sir William Norris's own suggestion. The Council objected on the grounds that it would destroy the Company's credit and give offence to the Mogul. Their previous answer had made it clear that the required visit would not be paid till they had seen Waite's authority. The latter's reply was that if they would not obey they need not in the future look for his protection: that his commission would be shown them but they would not be allowed to

¹ It is evident from a letter from Jeremiah Passley to John Pitt that Mascot was not really incapable of acting as interpreter on the grounds he alleged, but hesitated to take the office without Governor Pitt's permission, to do so. See *Diary of William Hodges*, vol. 2, pp. 225-6.

copy it; and that he had authority, higher than his own, for ordering the striking of St. George's flag. At the same time he wrote to Dianat Khan, Nabob of Surat, stating that the flag had been taken down. The Nabob's death about this time caused some delay, but on January 26, his successor refused permission to hoist the flag on the new factory.

Commodore Warren's death caused Sir William Norris much concern. Warren's loyalty to the New Company had been undoubted and his successor was thought rather to favour the Old. Sir William advised Walte to watch the latter carefully while showing him—as well as the other commanders—all possible civility and respect. He was further perturbed by a rumour of the presence of Dutch men-of-war at Surat, sent thither to demand satisfaction for alleged hardships to their countrymen at the hands of the Mogul Government. Sir William wrote asking that any Dutch action might be reported to him at once and at the same time took occasion to refer to the Old Company's affairs, directing that they should be held responsible for the discharge, with as little delay as possible, of their debts and other obligations.

On January 2, a report reached the ambassador to the effect that a Dutch ship had been captured by pirates sixty leagues off Achin. The pirate ship was said to carry seventy Europeans and thirty Caffres, with twenty-four guns, and was understood to be on the watch for ships going to China. Sir William was much disconcerted with the news, as the success of his negotiations with the Mogul seemed to him to depend largely on the issue of the operations against the pirates. The Dutch men-of-war at Surat, also said to be seven in number, made matters more critical, as he feared they might try to entangle the English naval commander in a joint demand for satisfaction from the Government. Sir William, therefore, warned the Commander to remain aloof, pointing out that unless he did so, his own mission as ambassador would be made extremely difficult. From this letter it can be seen that the ambassador had other troubles, for he mentions in it that one of his suite, Mr. Thurgood 'with too close application to the Persian language has disordered his brains so far that he has made himself incapable of business, and unfit for conversation, and indeed is a melancholy object' and had, therefore, to be sent home in the *Degrave*.

The situation far from improving seemed to grow daily worse. On January 18, the diary records the presence of ten French ships of war at Gos: Dutch feeling seemed to be with the pirates, and some *lascars* in the new Company's service made an unjust demand for wages and appealed to the Nabob for support. Out of this appeal there sprang a period of strained relations with the Nabob. The latter seized Vincatadre, one of the ambassador's interpreters, and the latter immediately demanded his release, threatening the Nabob with penalties if he did not acquiesce. So serious did the aspect of affairs become that the embassy was put into a state of defence and everyone was armed to resist an attack. The demand for Vincatadre's release, at first ignored, was renewed with more success. English persistence frightened the Nabob, who not only released his prisoner but apologised for detaining him and begged that His Excellency would take no further notice of the matter. Sir William, however, demanded public satisfaction sending Mr. Mill, his secretary, with thirty Indian servants to support the demand. He was to point out that no ambassador from so great a Prince could suffer such an indignity nor would he accept any less satisfaction than that the Nabob should beg His Excellency's pardon and express his regret. For their services on this occasion Mr. Mill and Mr. Harlewyn were recommended to the notice of the Court of Directors. A few days later the trouble broke out afresh with the seizure of a drummer by the *Kotwal*. The latter, however, released his prisoner on receipt of demands for release accompanied with threats.

The impression produced by such successes was not usually of long duration. It looked as if a fresh wrangle would be occasioned by the Nabob's delay in issuing *darshats* for goods awaiting shipment. Sir William suspected the Dutch of having a hand in the obstruction. In the end, however, matters were amicably settled and the *darshats* granted. But difficulties seemed to swarm in from every quarter. The Old Company's agents continued their opposition; piracy went on, inflaming the minds of the Mogul's subjects; and the activities of the Dutch men-of-war added to the ambassador's general distraction. Nevertheless we find him in his diary writing hopefully of being able to start on his 800 mile journey to the Mogul's Camp on March 25, the first day of the new century.

All through February, Sir William seems to have been in receipt

of letters which could hardly have any other than a discouraging effect upon him. His correspondents write apparently as hopefully as possible, but the information they send is almost uniformly depressing. Yet in the beginning of March preparations were begun for the expedition. A 'scrutiny' was taken of the servants who were to accompany him and all but one were found eager to go.

On March 2, Sir William was disturbed by the Moores celebrating the Death of Mahomet, 'ye Grand Impostor'; there was a procession with a coffin, etc. He thought it 'hard to Judge whether ye Moores or Rashbootes ar [e] more Rkikulous in their Ceremonys,' but 'this I thinke is observable yt there is not ye least clashinge or fallinge out amongst soe many different sectes and casta.' On the 4th he writes: 'Yesterday ye Gold embroydered furniture for one of my State Pulankeens was brought hither from Golconda.' The next day the *Degrave* arrived from Bengal with a rich cargo. Six days later Sir William writes from the palace of the King of Golconda to James Vernon, principal Secretary of State, describing the preparations already made for the journey and the expected splendour of his equipage. Even in this letter he seems unable to forget his difficulties and the obstructions put in his way by the agents of the Old Company: 'Our own countrymen are our greatest enemies in working underhand and setting these people on, I believe they are fully resolved as far as they are able to sacrifice the Nation's honour and the trade itself to their own malice and revenge without the least prospect or possibility of reaping any advantage by it themselves.'¹ He also added that they have agents at Court employed at great expense to frustrate his negotiation. The ambassador was able to procure copies of letters² originally written by the Governor of Fort St. George to the Nabob and Governor of Masulipatam in which he denied Sir William's authority as an ambassador. He lays the chief blame not on the Old Company's agents in India, but on their chiefs at home and expresses the hope that with his appearance at the Mogul's camp their power to obstruct and delay would 'vanish like clouds before the sun'. At the

¹ ² See Factory Records, Misc. 10.

² Thomas Pitt in one of his letters written from Fort St. George on the eleventh of February, 1699 [1700] mentioned that he was unwilling to write much about the ambassador for fear that some persons might turn informers and give evidence against him. This suspicion seems to be well founded. See Addl MS, vol. 1, No. 44, 72, 842.

same time he writes in similar terms to the Court of Directors and complains especially of the discourtesy of Thomas Pitt, who had described him as 'Ambassador to the Great Mogul' and suppressed altogether the name of the King. The insinuation of course was that he was merely the agent of a private company, without public authority. This letter to the Directors contains the depressing intelligence that although all possible economy had been observed yet the expense of the embassy had proved greater than that at first computed. In it also he expresses his intention of setting out for the Mogul's camp without waiting for arrival of the latter's *shutkhs*, said to be now on their way to him in the hands of Bhanoooll Beg.

Meanwhile at home a distinct check had been suffered by the Court of Directors. They wrote on March 15 stating that the Old Company had got a Bill through both houses of Parliament permitting them to continue as a Corporation to trade with the £315,000 subscribed by Mr. Dubois, while a further Bill passed by both Houses prohibited the wearing in England after September 29, 1701, 'of severall sorts of East India goods.'¹

Now arrived the first day of April and we find that Sir William expected a further delay of six weeks owing to the want of certain necessaries which ought to have been ready by the middle of January. This delay cannot have been made any more palatable by receipt of a letter from Surat which declared that had he come there first he might have been at the Mogul's Camp within forty days of his landing. Sir Nicholas Wauke had now secured a Persian interpreter of French parentage who having been lately at the Court of Aurangzeb was well qualified to serve Sir William. Five days later the latter learnt that Bhanoooll Beg was at last on his way with *shutkhs* and camels and in view of these facts he fixed his departure for May 1. On April 11 a public entertainment was given as it was the anniversary of King William's Coronation. Only a few details now remained to be arranged. Sir Nicholas expressed his earnest desire that a meeting might be arranged between himself and Sir William within eight days in order to confer together before Sir William went to Court. He further proposed to send a guard with the presents and also to send as well six of the Company's writers, 'Gentlemen's sons,

¹ See Addl. MS., 31,902, British Museum

very well clothed,' to enlarge his retinue. Yet even now when the arrangements for the embassy were so far advanced, the cabal against Sir William continued, and in this the name of Commodore Littleton comes into considerable prominence.

But a defection, if possible still more serious now began to become apparent. On April 23, a Council was held at Masulipatam. From certain happenings in connection with it the ambassador began to entertain suspicions of the Consul Pitt himself. He writes: 'I am sure I have been more surpris'd for some weeks past to find ye Consul . . . not only using arguments for my farther stay but offering to give it me under his and ye Consul's hands. This shows that it is his Intrest upon some account or other yt I should not goe away yet, and I cannot see any way but this, that he havinge ye sole management . . . is offered a good sum of money from Fort St. George to Impede matters.' Sir William asked for the reasons for delay and received from the Consul and Council a 'very disrespectfull and unbecominge' reply. This was to the effect that the delay had been really due to Sir William's coming to Masulipatam. He had been advised by the President that the Mogul being at Brampore, Masulipatam was nearer than Surat. But John Pitt and his Council had even then pointed out the disadvantages of adopting this advice and told Sir William that it would be very difficult to furnish an equipage as it was such a desolate place. Yet they had promised that all diligence would be used for a quick dispatch. Their daily reports must have shown that this had been done, and satisfaction had apparently been given to Sir William. They thought therefore that they deserved rather thanks for their diligence than blame at his hands. The ambassador replied justifying his former representation and expressed surprise at the tone of the President and Council and had he known the difficulties he would not have landed in such a barren place. The breach between the Consul and himself grew wider until at last when the former offers him a man to be sent to Golconda for oxen, palanquin, boys, etc., to be used on the expedition he writes that 'havinge had some suspicion lately of their management chiefly in Relation to my concern and dispatch I refus'd ye offer.' It was found also the country round was plunged in war and disorder, so it was not easy to procure all the necessaries for his journey.

On April 27, the *London* arrived from Bengal and saluted Sir

William with nineteen guns. She brought from Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal a letter which announced that he had procured copies of eight grants 'the best the English nation ever yet had.'

The following is a list of these —

1. Shah Jahan his *Phirmaund*.
2. Aurangzebe his *Phirmaund*.
3. Shah Shujah his *Nishan*.
4. Sultan Azim Borah the present second son to the Emperor Aurangzebe, his *Nishan*.
5. Mahomet Zoonah Nabob of Orissa his *Perwana*. This was the first grant obtained by the English in Bengal, on their first settlement by Mr. Thomas Cartwright in the year 1633.
6. Asott Cawhan his *Perwana* on the King's *Hukam*.
7. Hodgee Zaffer Khan, King's Dewan of Bengal, his *Perwana*.
8. Nabob Shaiata Khan's or Emir Umrah, his *Perwana*.

When the month of May opened there seemed as little likelihood of a start as ever. Letters in Persian had indeed been brought to Sir William from a Dewan of Zulphar Khan but 'I could make nothings of ye perport ye Mulla first turning ye persian into Gentoo and Vincatadre at ye 3d hand tellinge me just wt he thought good (weh has been my misfortune all alonge not to have an Interpreter I could in ye least rely on or confide in).' The *Duricks* from the Mogul for his safe passage, addressed to all Nabobs and Governors, also came, and Sir William ordered them to be translated, but expected as hitherto to be misled. There arrived also on May 1st the *Hassabul-Hakem*² to Meda Khan for convoying the ambassador from Masullipatam to the Mogul's Camp. It was dated 29th *Ramazan*. Two days later at a meeting of Council there was read a message from Emaunoonli Beg saying that he was actually 'upon ye road'. Immediately there was a spasm of local activity during which 300 coolies and 100 palanquin boys were ordered. But next day came another message from Emaunoonli intimating that he was not coming himself, but sending his son.

The long delay and many worries had now not only aroused Sir William's suspicions but overtaxed his temper. Discovering evidences

² Mixture of Arabic and Persian—Rules regarding any administration.

of what looked like a conspiracy of double-dealing and obstruction on the part of his Indian suite and dependents he ordered one to be bastinadoed and cashiered, another cashiered and seventy more dismissed his service. Vincadatre, who had formerly been in the Old Company's service and been once described by Thomas Pitt as a 'perjur'd knave', was especially the object of his suspicions. Of him he writes 'I have more than once told ye Consult of my suspicions of Vincadatre's false and double-dealinge, but he always passionatly . . . vouchd for his honesty and yet I am firmly of opinion we have all been betrayed by him.'

Seeing yet no prospect of getting away he now asked the Captain of the *London*, then at Masulipatam, if he could take him on to Surat. The request was refused on account of the monsoon, etc. We have a glimpse into the depth of his disappointment through the following extract in which he tries to express Christian resignation :—'Soe shall as in all duty bound expect wth patience Gods apointed time, and wt his good providence sees best wch in all circumstances of my life has ordered all affaires to my advantage even beyond expectation and above my wishes which I hope I shall never forgett to acknowledge and be thankfull for.' It seems like the utterance of a baffled mind controlling itself with difficulty.

In this exasperated condition he received from the Court of Directors a letter dated May 9, 1700. Its fatuousness must have made him angrier still. From the calm atmosphere of London it sagely advises the Company's agents in the tempertrying East to avoid all quarrelling and by courteous and civil behaviour win over to their interest not only the Indians but, in addition to other Europeans, the English also. They should not allow themselves, it proceeds, to be undermined or obstructed in their business, but to use all honest means for the prosecution of their own interest. The letter contained, however, one grain of comfort. It informed him that Dr. Davenant whom the Old Company had been arranging to send out to India as a sort of *chargé d'affaires* on their behalf was now not to come.

Meanwhile Sir Nicholas Walshe had written to the Mogul from Surat on May 14, announcing the early dissolution of the Old Company and the appointment by the King of England of Sir William Norris, Bart., as his ambassador. He writes. 'I brought twelve curious Cannon order'd to be deliver'd by our serene King's Ambassador to

your Imperial Majesty to be used in ye field for destroying of all your Enemies wch are ready when have notice of sd Embassadors arrival to be sent into your glorious Court.' In this letter a bold attempt is made to make favour with the Mogul on behalf of the New Company. He notified to the Mogul that it was King William's express desire that all debts owing to the inhabitants of Surat should be defrayed by the Old Company. Having thus smoothed over one obstacle in his path, the fear of pecuniary loss from the proposed change, he tries to stir up odium. 'I have shown my Commission from my King to the Governor but he regards not my words. The Old Company's Servants do the violence and are thieves and confederates with the pirates.' In conclusion Walte explains that he and the ambassador have been sent to rectify matters.¹

The following is a summary of the requests put before the Mogul on his own authority by Sir Nicholas Walte in a document of May 14, 1700, in twenty-one paragraphs. This *phirman* in the event of Sir William's non-arrival at the Imperial Court, Sir Nicholas requests may be delivered to himself. The first and last of these were quite general: to have liberty to trade and to establish factories at Surat and other ports in the Mogul's dominions, and to have the Mogul's command to his governors and ministers to carry out the various provisions fully and inviolably. The other paragraphs concerned Surat itself, but could have been applied, with necessary changes in the wording, to the other ports. They secured liberty to go in and out of the Surat to visit the ships at Swalley without interference, the Consul in particular was not to be searched on such journeys. Liberty to build a house, to have lands for a storahouse at Swalley, for building and repairing boats and ships, and for building a ware-house near the town gate. Four more paragraphs concerned the customs: Duty not to exceed 3½ per cent; goods landed at Surat and then exported again not to pay more than one duty, and not to pay any in case of mere transshipment; goods purchased in the interior for shipment to pay only at the port; indigo to pay only 2½ rupees. Protection was desired for goods in transit; robberies were to be compensated for by the Mogul's officials, who were not to take goods and curiosities at their pleasure but to buy from the merchants. A mint

for coining silver was to be allowed. Payment of debts to be enforced by the governor. Horses to be free of duty, as also plate and necessaries for the factories. The English Consul to be allowed to carry a flag and travel in due state. The Governor to arrest anyone leaving the factory without the Consul's permission. The traders to be free to choose their broker. Then follows an important provision. Should difference happen at any time between the subjects of the Mogul and the English, no officers or subjects of his shall assault or affront the English, but the difference shall be determined by the Governor and Consul, if the English be found in fault they shall be punished by the Consul, and if the people of Surat, they shall be punished by the Governor.¹

On May 16, Sir Nicholas writes again to Sir William narrating his landing four months before his reception by the Governor and the condition of things he had discovered. There had been opposition from the Old Company, the Dutch and the French. The Old Company's servants persisted in refusing to acknowledge Sir William's ambassadorial powers, and had found an ally in Commodore Littleton who maintained that Sir William was the New Company's and not the King's ambassador. He writes:

"All three European nations have given bond for securing the Seas, the Dutch for the Red Sea, the French for the Persian Gulf and the "dull unthinking timorous English" from Bombay to Zelon Coast, Bay, Malacca and all the South Seas without obliging these people to send their ships in fleets for which they are to receive one per cent convoy money, an insufferable burden, occasioned by the avarice of the late managers of the Old Company. A declaration of the most eminent merchants of this city claiming upwards of £100,000 bond has occasioned the Emperor to direct their detention and not permit them to go thro' the gates. They tried to get this voided by purchasing some few secretly to subscribe a justification in the name of the whole city that they had satisfied all debts. This was discovered, otherwise they would have gone and left us to be enchained in their stead. They have sent an Armenian to Court to try and prevent your reception this season."

The next day he wrote again, absence of news since January 19, having apparently made him afraid that earlier letters had miscarried, and matters were now in his opinion urgent; the Emperor having just made peace, a golden opportunity had arisen. In the Company's interest the ambassador must reach the Imperial Camp before the rains.

¹ See No. 7900 of O. C., SS. 1, India Office.

² See O. C. 30, 1.

The contents of a letter written so early as the previous March by Consul Pitt at Masulipatam to Asaad Khan, were now, towards the end of May, divulged by the latter. They offer strong evidence that Consul Pitt was even then playing for his own hand. He describes himself as 'Consul Genl and Captain of Metchlapatam and Madepollam for the English there' and asks among other things for a convoy to travel with the ambassador. For that purpose he had sent Meede Cooly Beague, who is 'somewhat acquainted with the customs and manners of the hatt men' with orders to all the Foujdars between that place and Surat to assist the convoy.²

We learn something of the Mogul's Ministers and other officers from a letter of the President and Council of Surat to Sir William, written on the same day, May 23. This letter gives a particularly lucid picture of the forces working for the two Companies even at the Imperial Court. It contains many details and many names, principally of officials at Court, but its chief effect is to show clearly that the Mogul's officials were as much divided over the affairs of the two Companies as were the servants of the Companies themselves. They pointed out it was a mistake to apply to Arsett Khan for assistance, who as Governor of the King's House, naturally possessed no slight influence over the Mogul. Unfortunately Arsett Khan was a prominent partizan of the Old Company, at any rate for the moment. It was true that he was brother-in-law of the Governor of Surat, through whose good offices, they thought, he might be induced to alter his conviction. Still the selection by the Mogul of this man to convoy the guns, presents, etc., was most disquieting, especially as Arsett Khan's action was due to the request of John Pitt. Asaad Khan on the other hand had not yet declared himself for either Company, but at least, according to the President and Council, he was an enemy of Arsett Khan. There was also a strong faction on whom the New Company could rely as they were enemies of the Old Company. These were 'men of honour.' Muchaleem Khan, 2nd Treasurer of the House, in great esteem with the King; Rubula Khan, Great Steward to the King; Yarlebig, 1st Arasbakkee, and favourite with the King, 'whose virtue and integrity gives him always the pre-eminence of the King's favour.' The latter is the principal

² See *O.C.*, 86, 1.

advocate and patron of the New Company, will receive nothing. Of course behind each of these protagonists in each party friendly, hostile or neutral, were lesser leaders whose characters are succinctly summarized in the letter. Behind Arsett were Monim Khan, 2nd Arasbekke who might 'secretly be gained'; Mulfett Khan, a Councillor of no great interest; Abdul Ramun Khan, 2nd Judge of the Court, entirely in the interest of the Old Company and 'not to be brought over'; Suffascuna Khan, 'false and of no account with the King.' Then there were the Procurators of the Old Company,—Dhanat Raya of the Cuttaree caste always resident at Court; Basacur Ray; Gocoldass Banian; Cogia Auenes, an Armenian from Surat who went about a month with Rs 20,000—most potent of arguments. Among the neutrals were Terabeet Khan, Councillor; Beramuna Khan, Chief Treasurer of the Horse.¹

At last on May 27, Ramsuncull's son arrived with the original *Hasbail Hookum* for conveying His Excellency to the Court.

Meanwhile the President and Council at Hooghly wrote to Sir William announcing that they were sending Mamood Hereeph to explain to him how affairs were in Bengal in preparation for his business at Court. Mamood seems to have been well fitted for the task as he was used to the King's Court and was an advocate by profession. Among the matters explained by him to Sir William was the wish of the Council to obtain a *shikrasana* from the King free of tax, fixing instead of customs an annual payment into the King's treasury of Rs. 3,000 for every ship. In the event of this being refused they wished to have the custom fixed at 2 per cent as at Surat and to have a mint at Hooghly.

At a Council Meeting on May 30, Sir William asked for a supply of money in view of his expected early start, but was informed by the Council that he could not provide more than Rs. 34,000 as the Embassy had already caused great expense.

From the Council of Surat came on May 30, intimation of sundry preparations they were making for Sir William's journey, their anxiety to obtain as early as possible the *shikrasana* for the New Company and an instruction they had received from the Company to supply him with £30,000.² The latter sum would have been sufficient

¹ O.C., 58 1.

² There seems to be a discrepancy between the sum mentioned at the Council meeting on the 30th and the letter written by the Council of Surat.

if he had come by way of Surat. Writing on the following day to Sir Nicholas Waite, the ambassador took a very pessimistic view of matters, ascribing his delay to the 'poverty and desolation' of Masulipatam, its great distance from any centre whence necessities could be obtained, and tactics of a deliberately obstructive nature which he suspected. He now believed that June 10, would be the earliest date on which the journey could be begun. He also urged the necessity of a meeting with Sir Nicholas before beginning his negotiations at the Court. If this should prove impossible he offered to send his brother or Mr. Harlewyn to Surat. He comments with some bitterness on Emauncooli Bag's action in sending his son to discharge the duty of escort which he had been directed by the Mogul to discharge himself. Sir William's depression had evidently been increased by sickness in his suite and the death of three servants. Altogether he was far from hopeful and imputes the delay to Vincastre, Consul Pitt's chief *Dafadar*.¹ It is possible that there had been bribery on the part of the Old Company; for there is on record a warm assertion² by Consul Pitt of his honesty and integrity, which smacks of protestation overmuch.

The first day of June, 1700, found Sir William still busy with preparations for his journey. On the 4th and 5th Councils were held. The former decided to pay higher wages demanded by the coolies. At the latter a new hindrance appeared. The *Gendavaler* who had returned from Goodore the previous night brought news with him that the Governor there would give no orders for cows or coolies as the Mogul's instructions to him were only to convoy or assist His Excellency.

¹ Interpreter.

² See *Misc. Factory Records*, vol. 19.

The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the 'Arthasāstra'

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CHAPTER II

THE EPICS (*Jāhikāra-Purāṇa*)

THERE is a striking coincidence between the change of the form in our literary documents (from the Brāhmanas to the epics), and the change in the *norm* of our national history. The pre-epic literature is essentially sacerdotal and contains all the elements which have been developed at a later period. It accords a prominent and rather exaggerated importance to the power of the priests as we see in the legal literature, where the priest appears as the 'norm of the world'. Notwithstanding the inevitable Brahminical alterations, the epic bears witness to another line of evolution, where the norm of the world is the king.¹

As sociological documents, the epics are too substantial and too life-like to be completely altered by the schematic brain of the Brāhmanas. We obtain for the first time here a glimpse of real life, with all the natural anomalies to a period of assimilation,—anomalies which defy all efforts of didactic reconciliation or of religious justification. War and diplomacy, crimes and passions of the epics are authentic facts of Hindu social history as well as that of every other race. Thus the epic furnishes us with an occasion to observe for the first time secular life, side by side with sacerdotal life. Viewed

¹ Hopkins, *C. H. L.*, vol. 1, p. 266.

from this point the epics are documents of inappreciable value. They are correctly judged by a great authority in this branch of studies, Mr. Hopkins, who expresses himself thus :

' The same spirit which produced the best Vedic hymns, the spirit reflecting independence and freedom, appears in this royal literature: the great epic in its earlier parts bears the stamp of the age of the *Upanishads*. The *Upanishads* are in part the product of unpriestly, or at least anti-ritualistic thought and the epic also emanates from the throne and not from the altar.' ¹

Mr. Hopkins again draws our attention to this fact,² namely, that in one *Upanishad* (*Br. A. N.*, I. 4) we read of the indisputable affirmation of the supremacy of the warrior-class over the Brāhmanas. ' Nothing is greater than a warrior, and the priest comes after the warrior, in the ceremony of the *Rajasya*, because the warrior alone brings glory.' This appears also in the Kshatriya version of conflict between the spiritual power and the temporal, as we have noticed already in the *Āitareya Brāhmana*.³ It would be hazardous no doubt to speak of the war of the *Mahābhārata* as a war between the Brahminised Kurus, and the un-Brahminised Panchāla-Pāṇḍvas.⁴ It is equally risky to believe entirely in the anti-didactic attitude and moral anarchism of the epic age as depicted in loud colours by Mr. Hopkins, thirty-six years ago, but since very much softened, as is seen from his description of the ' Princes and peoples of the epic poems ' ⁵ However it is indisputable that as we find in the epics, the governing class has contributed largely to the evolution of Hindu culture. Some of the most enterprising thinkers of the *Upanishads* are Kshatriyas. Also, the founders of the orthodox philosophic system of the Sāṅkhya and of the heterodox systems of the Buddhists or Jains, belong to the royal class. Thus the Kshatriya power became established in the course of several centuries. This fact is as clearly defined as the apotheosis of the Brahman, man-god (*Naradeva*) showing that the power of the Brāhmanas continued side by side in the days of later literature. Hindu social history is full of cross-currents and of simultaneous evolutions in

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 204.

² Vide ' Position of ruling Castes in Ancient India,' *J. A. O. S.*, vol. xiii, p. 66.

³ *ibid.* 19.

⁴ *Vide J. R. A. S.*, 1902, the controversy between Messrs. Grierson and Keith.

⁵ *C. R. I.*, vol. I, ch. 23.

parallel directions. And therefore it is extremely risky to affirm within narrow chronological limits that such a state of affairs was followed by such another.

The atmosphere of the epics, as has been demonstrated by Hopkins and Rapson, is essentially aristocratic. But from the scholarly analysis of Mr. Smart on the *Codes of India*, confirmed by the later discoveries of Hindu epigraphy,¹ it is difficult to admit that there existed an exclusive aristocratic class and that the castes were close and fixed compartments as they appear in modern Hindu society. Ghaṭotkaca, the barbarian son of Bhīma, enjoys all the privileges of a Kshatriya, and is not considered unworthy to cross sword with the proudest of Kshatriya chiefs, Karna. Notwithstanding his disputable genealogy, Ghaṭotkaca was as much a Kshatriya as Chandragupta Maurya—he too of low descent,—or Kanishka the Indo-Scythian King and the great *Alexas* champion of the Mahāyāna.

Outside the legal codes which always frame new systems, the position of the Kshatriyas in actual life should be considered rather as a high privilege open to all successful conquerors and governors and not confined to a social caste altogether rigid. These so-called social anomalies, these exceptions are invaluable landmarks in our social history. This powerful fermentation during the course of the evolution of the Hindu nation is well represented by the great epic which covers practically the whole Hindu continent and embraces all the races of India in its ethnographic catalogue. We must not fall into the error of limiting strictly this geographic and ethnographic enumeration to a narrow period or space which would be equivalent to attributing scientific precision to a work that is semi-legendary and semi-poetic.

The tendency of the Hindu society to emerge from the tribal state which is manifest during the later Vedic period, has found its logical development in the formation of great nations which, gradually and inevitably brought about international wars. The shadow of these wars looms largely over the great epic, notwithstanding the later attempts of literary or sectarian transformation by the addition of a huge mass of extraneous matters. These facts are admirably brought to light by the valuable researches of Mr. Pargiter into the most neglected remains of the Kshatriya literature (*Jñāna-Purāṇa*). His analysis

¹ *See* 'Foreign Elements in Hindu Population' by D. R. Bhattacharya, *Ind. Arch.* 1911.

of the names of the chiefs and of the peoples who participated in the Great War has led to remarkable results which he has published in his essay, *the Nations of India at the battle between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas*.¹ We would give here a summary.

1. On the side of the Pāṇḍavas there were :

(a) From the Madyaṇḍoṇa, the Pāṇḍhālas, the Matsyas, the Cōḍis, the Karuṣas, the Daśārṇas, the Kāçis, the Eastern Kōśālas and the Western Magadhas, etc. ;

(b) from the West, the Yādavas of Guzerat, and of the regions east of Guzerat ;

(c) from the North-west, the Kalkeyas and the Abhisāras,

(d) from the South, the Pāṇḍyas with their troops of Dravidian race.

2. On the side of the Kauravas there were :

(a) from the East, the eastern Magadhas, the Vidhas, Prāgyotthas with Cinas and the Kīrtas, the Aṅgas, the Veṅgas, the Puṇḍras, the Utkalas, the Mōkalas, the Kalingas and the Andhras ;

(b) from the Madhyaṇḍoṇa, the Śurasenās, the Vatsyas and the Kōçālas ;

(c) from the North-west, the Sindhus, the Sauvīras, the Madras, the Bāhlikas, the Kalkeyas, the Gāndhāras, the Kāmbojas, the Trigarttas, the Ambasthas and the Śivis ;

(d) from the North, the mountain tribes of the Himalayas excepting those on the north of Pāṇḍhāla ;

(e) from the West, the Śīlas and the Mēlavas ;

(f) from Central India, the Yādavas, the Avantis, the Mēhiṣmakas, the Vidarbhas, the Nipādhas and the Kuntalas.

This brief analysis would be sufficient to convince any reasonable person that it is as hazardous to fix the chronological limits as to define the ethno-graphic value of the various enumerations in the *Mahabharata*. It is evident that age after age the *Mahabharata* is retouched and amplified and this explains how the Vedic tribes like the Kurus are found together with the *Cinas* and *Kīrtas*.

Leaving aside the question of the origin as well as the oral transmission of the epic, we know it for certain that during the thousand years (since the time of Pāṇini down to that of the Pādmas and

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1908.

the *Harivamśa*), the Hindu people endeavoured to work up that wonderful literary monument. While the *Rāmāyaṇa* remained more or less intact as the model of poetry (*Kāvya*), the *Mahābhārata* was gradually transformed. From an aristocratic epic it became a national encyclopædia. The Vedic legends and the Brahmanic rituals, the scholastic philosophy and sacerdotal jurisprudence, the military science and royal diplomacy, Purāṇic cosmogony, later treatises on art and architecture, in short, nearly all the branches of national culture, were summarized, popularised, and finally incorporated in the great national anthology. At the same time the Buddhists developed likewise their religious canons and their spiritual encyclopædia. It is not therefore unreasonable to trace in the *Mahābhārata*, despite its significant silence on Buddhism, an earnest yearning to win the heart of the common people as attempted by the Buddhist literature of the *Jātaka*s and the *Avadāna*s. The conclusions of Mr. Hopkins are very instructive on this point: 'The epic had become what it called itself the "fifth Veda," and may be regarded either as a store-house of didactic matters (it calls itself a *Dharmaśāstra*) or as a magnified *Itihāsa Purāṇa*, which, even before the epic existed, was regarded as supplementing the Veda. Both elements are united, religious-didactic and legendary, in such parts as treat of the demons, gods and seers of old. How ancient may have been collections of such material prior to our extant epic is uncertain: but the evidence for earlier collective works does not appear to be convincing. That a mass of legends existed and that this mass was used by Brāhmanas and Buddhists alike as they needed them, may be granted, just as the mass of fables known to the ancient world was utilised by the epic writers and by those who composed the Buddhist *Jātaka*s.'¹

In the light of these facts it would not be prudent to characterise the whole epic as entirely aristocratic. To consider it as such would mean that we are not noticing some important historical tendencies. First, even if it were ostensibly composed for the aristocracy, that so-called aristocracy was not the rigid caste of the Kshatriyas, but the elastic class of warriors. Secondly, its chief object was unquestionably the democratisation of Brahmanic culture probably with a view to oppose the Buddhist propaganda. It would appear as a chal-

¹ *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 356-7.

lunge of organised orthodoxy to an equally well-organised heterodoxy. And the very fact that the *Mahābhārata* succeeded in penetrating thoroughly the Hindu spirit so as to captivate the popular imagination, shows that from the first, it had a democratic tendency and the germ of popularisation. It would then appear that though the *Mahābhārata* is in form the literature of a class still in spirit it is the literature for the mass.

This epic world naturally centred round the king. All the various branches,—law and politics, war and diplomacy (which is of special interest to us) are represented, thanks to the Hindu academic fiction, as developing with the king as its centre. But this kingship is surely not the monopoly of the Aryans in general or of the Kshatriyas in particular. Mr. Hopkins observes justly: 'Despite the pride of the *hereditary* crown it has been admitted that the king is often chosen for his *personal* qualities. He is generally chosen from one of the three classes, aristocracy, heroes or army-commanders.'¹

In that disorderly state of the primitive society, the commanders of the armies were very probably elected by the armed nation rather than taken from a special class. Any commander who distinguished himself by heroic actions could attain aristocracy and sovereignty. Thus in examining these parts of the *Mahābhārata* which treat of politics and diplomacy we must remember that we are dealing with the life and experience of a class which is by no means rigid, and with the history of the entire warrior-peoples, bearing the generic name of the Kshatriya. The considerate conclusions of Mr. Pargiter² corroborate these views. After analysing the names of several tribes and nations in the battle of Kurukshetra, he draws our attention to three important facts: (1) the races and nations-in-arms are not all of the same blood, (2) the kings and chiefs who assemble with their armies on the field of battle are not of the same race as that of their armies, (3) the mighty sovereigns summon their military contingents from neighbouring countries and tribes.

In handling the historical materials of the *Mahābhārata* it must be remarked at the outset that the great compass of the texts and the absence of every critical arrangement, do not permit us to make any philosophical or chronological deduction. We would proceed to give

¹ *J. A. O. S.*, 12, 98.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1902.

a selection of the most important pieces as evidence as to the evolution of the science of Hindu diplomacy which reaches its apogee in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya. If we dive deep into these epic texts we see from the very commencement that the atmosphere is far from being sacerdotal. On the contrary it is secular to the core. The ethico-didactic elements are, without doubt, ever tending to soften the violent realism of the portraiture but the point of view is totally different from that of the pacific Brāhmanas. The centre of gravity of national life, such as it is represented here, is no longer the altar but the court of the king. The first diplomatic document in that first book of the *Mahabharata* discloses a stifling atmosphere of court intrigues and cruelty.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the uncle and guardian of the Pāṇḍavas is represented here as the prime cause of the catastrophe at Kurukshetra.² Though the first-born, still being blind he was disqualified to rule the kingdom, and hence he vacated the place to his younger brother Pāṇḍu. After the death of the latter (Pāṇḍu), his sons were naturally to succeed him. But many an attempt was made to kill them. They managed to escape from a house covered with resin in which, it was so arranged, they were to be burnt alive. They entered in disguise the kingdom of Pañchāla Drupada and espoused the Princess Draupadi, an event which made them stronger than ever. During this period of intrigues, the aged uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭrā took counsel of his Brāhman minister Kṛpika who is represented as a great diplomat (*Mantrayātra*) well versed in the science of kingship (*Rajadarsin*). Comprehending the motives of this old prince and the difficulties of his task, the Brāhman minister began his cruel discourse on diplomacy begging the king not to be offended at his words.

'The King must ever actively hold his sceptre of punishment (*udakṣatāṇḍya*).³ He must exhibit his power. Without any folble in himself he must observe the weak points of his enemies (*akṣidṛṇḍarṣṭ*). Just as a tortoise hides its limbs the king must guard his weak points (*visava*).⁴ If he should begin any enterprise, he should not abandon it without completing it (*asamyaḥ-tyakṣat*). Even if a little thorn were not removed it would produce an abscess. An enemy though weak must not be neglected. Oh master! a single

² *MS.*, *Ash.* ch. 143.

³ *MS.*, xii. 140. 7, *Maun.* vii. 102-3.

⁴ Cf. *Arthashastra*, i. 11, p. 29; *Maun.* vii. 103.

spark is enough to consume all the forest because everything is contiguous.'

'To pretend that one is blind is good as long as it is a matter of policy. Similarly to feign deafness. By peaceful or other means enemies are to be eliminated especially when they are at your mercy. No quarter is to be given even if they surrender (*parasāgata*). It is only under these conditions that one might be freed from all anxiety. From the dead nothing is to be feared. Remove the adversary and those who are prejudiced against you by gifts (*dāna*). Destroy the three, five and seven resources of the enemy. Cut off his roots in the first instance and then destroy all his allies (*sāhasa*) and all his partisans (*śakṣa*). By the ritual fire (*Āgnyā-dhama*), by sacrifice, by the ascetic-robe (*Āśvaya*), by plaited hair, by the skin of the antelope (*jaṭa-ḥṣa*), win the confidence of the people to throw yourself over them afterwards like a wolf. For it is the sacred discipline (*śrama*) that serves as a hook to gather the fruits of *Ārtha*. We must gather fruits only when they are ripe. Carry your enemy on your shoulders as long as it is necessary; and when the right moment arrives dash him to pieces, as one breaks a pot against a stone. Thus destroy your adversary by conciliation (*samāna*), by gifts (*dāna*), by making a division (*śāśana*) and by punishment (*danda*), in short, by all means.'

Having thus formulated the general principles of diplomacy, the minister Kapika explained the ancient Hindu methods under the cover of a fable with its profound instructions, the story of the cunning fox, which rejoiced to eat by himself the flesh of an antelope after having driven away the tiger, wolf, mouse and mongoose, by diplomatic war and so without bloodshed. That manner of exposition was later on rendered famous throughout the world by the *Tantrabhāṣya*, the *Amṛtatantra*, etc. Mr. Hertel who has made a special study of the latter¹ remarks that the authors of these works profoundly honour Chāṇakya-Kauṭilya. The Kapika-nīti is so near to the spirit of Kauṭilya, that one is justified in asking whether the name of Kapika is not simply another edition of Chāṇakya, some of whose ideas could have been incorporated in the *Mahābhārata* at an opportune moment.

Kapika completes his discourse by adding a few more instructive

¹ *Amṛtatantra*, Mar. Or. Series, Indraprastha.

stances on diplomacy. 'Divide the timid by exciting their fears, the courageous by submission, the greedy by presents of money, and equals and inferiors by force.'

'Again if a son, a friend, a brother, a father or even a spiritual guide, plays the part of an enemy, each of them must be exterminated if one desires prosperity.'

'Enemies must be destroyed by imprecation, gifts of wealth, poison, and incantations.

'Even though you are irritated appear calm and speak with a smile and take the initiative in addressing (the man who has offended you). If you are vexed do not accuse anybody. speak soft words when you are on the point of striking and Ō Bharata! even when you strike.

'And after striking the adversary speak softly, show your own anguish and even shed crocodile tears, thus winning his confidence by means of pacific principles and actions. But if he would deviate from the straight path beat him down.' You must observe the same attitude towards a great criminal who lives under the disguise of virtue by which his faults are for a time covered like a mountain by the clouds.

'Thus ruin some by surprise attacks, and others by *assess* or delay, and still others by gifts of wealth. Then be ready to destroy even the most confiding. Have your teeth ever sharp and ruin the enemy. Trust not those devoid of fidelity—and even those who seem to be faithful for the danger born of confidence cuts the very root.'

'The tried spy (*citra*) shall be employed in your state as well as in that of others.⁴ The heretics and ascetics shall be employed in the kingdom of the enemies,⁵ in gardens, monasteries, temples of Gods, rest-houses, in public streets, in all the eighteen *Prithas* or the departments of state, in places near the walls, in hills, forests and rivers, besides the many corporations.⁶

'In the three-fold group of *Trivarga*,⁷ there are two possibilities. Either one of the parts suffers from a morbid increase or the parts harmonise and co-ordinate as in a healthy organism. This last is desirable and the first ought to be avoided. By all means servile or despotic lift yourself from humiliations so that you would be capable of

⁴ *Mbh.*, xii. 140. 4; *Yājñ.*, i. 358; *Mbh.*, xii. 84. 27.

⁵ Cf. *Arthashastra*, vii. 154-5.

⁶ *Mbh.*, xii. 55, 76.

⁷ *Arthashastra*, i. 7, 8. *Kāma*, xiii. 37.

⁸ *Mbh.*, xii. 68. 10-13.

⁹ *Arthashastra*, ii. ch. 54-55. *Śrī Nbh.*, iii. 22-27.

¹⁰ *Mbh.*, xii. 140. 57; *Arthashastra*, p. 12, 381-82.

practising virtue. Unless one fluctuates between life and death, one would never hope to attain to prosperity. But if he survives this trial he attains true success.

'He who comfortably reposes after concluding a treaty with the enemy as if he had attained his purpose, resembles a mad person who, having fallen asleep on the top of a tree, would wake up only after falling down. One must be careful to hide one's resolutions under the cloak of magnanimity and control the external manifestations of his emotions when he is listening to spies.

'So long as he has not torn the vital parts of his enemies, and has acted in a terrible manner, or has killed as a fisherman his fish, the king could not attain great prosperity. The army of the enemy must be cruelly beaten even when it depends upon your good faith, when it is dispirited, sick, exhausted or deprived of drink and fodder.

'He who possesses wealth never visits a person who is affluent. He who has attained his purpose does not seek one's aid or alliance. Consequently we must act in such a way that others would be ever in need of us. Let your movements be always unknown to your friends as well as to your enemies. Let them hear of your movements only after the beginning or towards the end.

'Facing when the enemy is present, fight with intrepidity and keep an eye on the future as well as on the past. Thus you would avoid blunders committed owing to lack of intelligence. He who wishes to prosper must carefully cultivate his energy, distinguish in everything, time, place and fate as well as the three-fold group, *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kama*. It is well known that the circumstances of time and place can bring great advantage.

'An enemy, though weak, if overlooked, strikes roots as the palm tree. As a spark falling in a forest, he grows until he causes a general conflagration. First offer politely your services but without conviction. Postpone the carrying out of your promise and when the moment arrives, multiply obstacles, speak as if those obstacles were the consequences of such and such circumstances (*nimitta*) and show that those circumstances resulted from such and such causes (*Artha*). "Destroy your enemy as the sharp razor cuts the hair silently and also completely,"

These are the principles of diplomacy inculcated by the great Brāhman minister Kapika. It is easy to notice that they are in

accordance at the bottom, with the principles formulated in the celebrated treatise attributed to the other Brāhman minister Chāṇakya. We meet with two stanzas in the 100 stanzas (*Chāṇakya-pātaka*) traditionally ascribed to Chāṇakya. Thus the equation Kaṇika=Chāṇakya-Kaṇṭhalya seems to us a tempting conclusion. It is no less significant that some technical terms are common to both. The most important is the expression *śtrika* which means the eighteen departments of state which the spies ought to watch carefully. We give below a comparative list of the *śtrikas* according to the texts of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Ramayana* as well as to the diplomatic treatise attributed to Kaṇṭhalya:—

<i>Aṅgikāśāstra</i> , I 8, 30	<i>Commentaries on the Mahābhārata</i> , I 133. 64; II 5, 38, <i>Nagān</i> , xvii. 58.	<i>Commentaries on the Rāmāyaṇa</i> , II 100. 36. (cf. <i>Poṭṭakāṇṭha</i> , III. 90- (incomplete) and <i>śūtra</i> , II 71 ff.
1. <i>Mantrin.</i>	<i>Mantrin.</i>	<i>Mantrin.</i>
2. <i>Purohita.</i>	<i>Purohita.</i>	<i>Purohita.</i>
3. <i>Samāpati.</i>	<i>Samāpati.</i>	<i>Samāpati.</i>
4. <i>Yuvārāja.</i>	<i>Yuvārāja.</i>	<i>Yuvārāja.</i>
5. <i>Dauvārīka.</i>	<i>Dvātrapāla.</i>	<i>Dauvārīka.</i>
6. <i>Antarvaṇṇika.</i>	<i>Antarvaṇṇika.</i>	<i>Antaḥpurāḍhika.</i>
7. <i>Prasūti.</i>	<i>Karagārādhikārin.</i>	<i>Bandhanāgarādhikṛta.</i>
8. <i>Samāhṛty.</i>	<i>Draṇya Samāhṛty.</i>	<i>Dhanādhyakṣa</i>
9. <i>Samādikṛty.</i>	<i>Rṭhyakṛtyau Arihā-</i> <i>nūvāṇḍyokṛta.</i>	<i>Rājājnyā ajīkṣya-</i> <i>vakṛty.</i>
10. <i>Pradeśy.</i>	<i>Pradeśy.</i>	<i>Prāśvicāḥṣaṇjino</i> <i>Vyavahāraprasūty.</i>
11. <i>Nayabapaṇṇa.</i>	<i>Nagarādhyakṣa.</i>	<i>Nagarādhyakṣa.</i>
12. <i>Vyavahārika.</i>	<i>Dharmādhyakṣa.</i>	<i>Dharmānandikṛta.</i>
13. <i>Karmāntika.</i>	<i>Kāryaśrmaṇṭhikṛty.</i>	<i>Vyavahāraśrmaṇṭr.</i> <i>Karmānta Vetsagrāhita.</i>
14. <i>Mantripariṇā-</i> <i>Adhyakṣa.</i>	<i>Sabhadhyakṣa.</i>	<i>Vyavahāraśrmaṇṭr</i> <i>Sādhyakṣa.</i>
15. <i>Dauḍapāla.</i>	<i>Dauḍapāla.</i>	<i>Dauḍāṇam dauḍanādī-</i> <i>kārin.</i>
16. <i>Durgapāla.</i>	<i>Durgapāla.</i>	<i>Durgapāla.</i>
17. <i>Antapāla.</i>	<i>Rasṭranāpāla.</i>	<i>Rasṭranāpāla.</i>
18. <i>Ājavika.</i>	<i>Ājavipāla.</i>	<i>Ājavika.</i>
	19. <i>Saṇḍyāśrīta</i> = <i>śkyāśrīmadhyakṣa.</i>	

These eighteen essential parts of the state are given exactly as above in the (*Mahabharata*) commentary of Nīlakantha who indicates his sources as manuals of diplomacy (*Niti-kāvya*) in general. The same poetical catalogue is quoted by Cālitravardhana in his commentary on the *Raghavamsa* of Kālidāsa² in like terms. He definitely attributes the catalogue to Kaṭyāya with the usual formula *एषः काट्यैः*.³ But before the discovery of the famous treatise of the *Aṛikakāṭya*, few had the courage to affirm that the ancient Hindus had elaborated such fine theories on diplomacy. Moreover in explaining the term *Trivarga*, Nīlakantha mentions clearly the name of Kaṭyāya⁴ and gives an excellent and correct resumé of his attitude in regard to this question. We see then that there is a continuity of diplomatic tradition so far at least as the vocabulary is concerned. Further Kaṭyāya uses sometimes expressions which are very well known as terms of the Hindu diplomatic code,⁵ and which later on had become enigmatical. For example, *Trīṇ*, *Pañca* and *Saptā*,⁶ understood formerly, had to be explained by the commentators thus :—

The *Trīṇ* comprised of wealth, counsel, and activity. Kaṭyāya mentions these with one difference,—the lord (*prabhu*), the council (*mantra*) and energy (*utsāha*).⁷ The *Pañca* are the minister, kingdom, fortress, treasury and army, whilst the *Saptā* are exactly the same as in Kaṭyāya—the king, minister, allies, treasury, kingdom, fortress and army.

Besides ascertaining these facts we find one other motive of interest in this first diplomatic piece from the *Mahabharata*. It describes to us the diplomacy of the Kāshatriya in its true colour. The atmosphere has changed since the Brāhmanic regime. Though these principles are formulated by a Brāhman minister, they contain the experience of the realistic science of the new masters of society.

Notwithstanding all the diplomatic intrigues of their cousins the Kauravas, the five sons of Pāṇḍu, succeeded ultimately in establishing themselves in their paternal kingdom. The eldest Yudhisṭhira managed the state with the help of his brothers. This was an excellent occasion for introducing a sermon on the duties of the king. And the divine sage Nārada appears to preach this sermon. While Kaṭyāya has been characterised as a scholar in 'royal sciences', we see here Nārada honored by a number of grandiloquent titles.

² xvi. 68.³ *Id.*, 143-69.⁴ *Id.*, 143-69.⁵ Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, xiii. pp. 125-7.⁶ *Id.*, 143-69.

He is applauded as the master of the Vedas and the *Upanishads*, and immediately after, as a specialist in history (*Jñāna*), legend (*Purāṇa*) and ancient tradition (*Purāṇa*). Then follow the enumeration of his philosophical equipments *Nyāya*, *Sāṃkhya*, *Yoga* and the description of his moral equilibrium. Further on he is praised as the master of the science of the Kshatriyas—war and treaties, and the application of sixfold policy *Ṣaḍguṇyavidhi*.

When the divine sage Nārada had been honored duly with welcome rites and had seated himself on an elevated seat, as the true guardian of the royal conscience, he commenced a questioning the king on the manner in which he was governing the state. This *questionnaire* is not only grounded on theoretical principles as is the case with Kaṇva but on a profound knowledge of the application of the political science. We seem to read as it were a table of contents of some practical manual of Hindu politics. For example the sage asks whether the king has paid attention to the following points:—

1. Three-fold pursuit, 2. six qualities of the king, 3. seven means, 4. fourteen possessions of the enemy, 5. eight occupations of the king, 6. seven limbs of the state, 7. eighteen *śrīṅṅas* of the enemies and fifteen *śrīṅṅas* of his own (the Crown prince, the Purohita and the first minister were not to be watched by spies), 8. four diplomatic arts *Stana*, *Dāna*, *Bhāṇa*, *Dāṇa*, 9. four divisions of the army, 10. eight parts of the army, 11. four-fold employments of the pacific methods, and 12. fourteen vices of the king.¹

This list of which we find an explanation in the commentaries appears to be a diplomatic grammar. Nārada the teacher, traces in a few lines a complete scheme of this science. The picture is very interesting from the point of view of pacific administrative life. He draws the king's attention to the tasks of good Government namely, effective control and the trial or test of officials, verification of reports or accounts (allowing even the servants to criticise the king for his extravagances,²) organisation of the budget, administration of justice, military pensions, protection of widows and orphans, education of princes and nobles, honours to the learned and the Brāhmins, works of irrigation with the help of ditches and of lakes, and lastly health and

¹ Cf. Manu, vii. 44-53.

² *Arthashastra*, p. 13.

hygiene under the direction of able doctors versed in the eight-fold methods of treatment.

The section relating to the sermon on diplomacy is one of supreme interest. We proceed to give a resumé in the style and the very words of the great sage Nārada :

‘ I hope that your deliberations are not disclosed by your spies, by yourself or by your ministers.

‘ Do you know the movements of your allies, neutrals and enemies ?

‘ Do you make peace or war at the opportune moment ?

‘ Have you properly organised your politics with regard to the neutral and intermediate States ?

‘ Are the superior officers of your army, versed in diverse systems of warfare, of good discipline, courageous and honoured by you ?

‘ I trust you pay in due time and never hold back the rations and salary (*Cākrā vāsa*) due to your army ?¹

‘ The greatest danger for the king (mutinies) arises from the detention of rations and pay.

‘ Are the military chiefs of high birth devoted to you and ready to give their lives for you ?

‘ By means of the six qualities pertaining to royalty (eloquence, promptitude, intelligence, memory, morality and complete political mastery) do you practise the seven means (conciliation, gifts, division, punishment, incantation, medicine and magic) ?²

‘ After considering deeply both your strength and weakness do you examine the fourteen weak points of your enemies (kingdom, fortress, chariots, elephants, cavalry, infantry, principal officers, harem, provision-stores, statistics of the army, special sciences, budget, revenue, and secret enemies) ?

‘ When your enemy is entangled with vices and distresses (*Vyasa*) do you march promptly against him after carefully examining the three sources of power (king, deliberation and energy, or deliberation, treasury and troops) ?

‘ Do you begin your march (*Vāra*) at the propitious moment fixed by astrologers ? Do you comprehend that the security and defeat

¹ *Mān.*, xii, 86, 12.

² Cf. *Arthashastra*, xiv, pp. 177-79; 416-426.

are dependent on the reserves (*paṇḍipīṇḍā*) which form the twelfth *Maṇḍala*?

'And do you pay then your army in advance?

'Do you secretly furnish the chief military officers of your enemies with gifts according to their respective merits?

'Do you go to conquer your enemies when they have lost their judgment and character and after you have disciplined yourself?

'Before actual marching do you employ the four means (*Upāya*) of diplomacy (conciliation, gifts, division and punishment)?

'Do you march against your enemies after having consolidated your kingdom?

'Do you attempt to vanquish thoroughly, your enemies? And after having vanquished them do you see to it carefully that they receive due protection?'

'Do you protect with paternal care the enemies who have asked for your protection through fear, exhaustion or defeat?

'Are you impartial and above all suspicious, as the veritable father of society?

'Do you maintain the widows and orphans of those who have given their lives for your sake?'

We see in this discourse some fundamental ideas of diplomacy as we find them in the *Arthashastra* of Kaṭilya. Conquest is not an end in itself, the victory is counterbalanced by responsibilities and acquisitions by necessity of safeguarding them. Towards the end of this interrogatory, Nārada puts two significant questions which throw much light on the development of diplomatic life in ancient India:

'Do your officers of customs (*śulka-paṭīś*) impose duties according to just laws on merchants coming from foreign countries? Are these foreign peoples respected both in the capital and in the country? And do they carry their merchandise without being cheated (*Upakṣābhikṣā*) by your officers or your subjects?'

Thus at the conclusion of his discourse Nārada uses an expression *Upakṣā* which is important in the lexicon of Kaṭilya; there is a section on this institution entitled, 'Determination of honesty and dishonesty of ministers by means of temptations (*Upakṣā*).'

² *Arthashastra*, xli. pp. 176, 408-10.

³ Manu, vii. 25-29.

⁴ *Arthashastra*, i, 10.

Megasthenes clearly mentions this fact of protection and the just treatment of aliens, the solicitude of Nārada.¹ Megasthenes notes in his *Indica* that one of the six municipal departments of the Maurya Empire was occupied exclusively with the attention paid to the strangers, providing them with lodgings, protecting their property and returning their goods to their homes or country in case of death. Though these observations of Megasthenes are not to be found in the *Arthashastra*² still Kautilya shows himself sufficiently preoccupied with foreigners. He advises the monarch to superintend them closely—be they merchants or not—as we see it in his chapter on the 'Superintendent of Passports' *Mudra*³ and of Customs (*caika*).⁴ Here, as regards foreign commerce,⁵ we find the following principles of wise liberalism enunciated. 'The superintendent shall encourage those who import merchandises; makers and traders who import goods from foreign countries shall enjoy exemption from certain taxes (*sharidhara*) which will permit them to secure a profit in trading (*apathikama*). Also it is enjoined that every article, useless or dangerous for the state, shall be stopped, whereas those which are useful such as new and rare grains, shall be exempted from every tax (*nachakita*).'⁶

The question relating to the age of these documents can be solved only after making a profound analysis of the *Arthashastra*. But we may obtain a few ideas or facts of inestimable value by a simple comparison of the data as a whole. As regards diplomatic evolution the sacerdotal literature (*Samkhya-Brahmayas*) furnishes us with important indications. But the materials which we find in the Kshatriya literature (*Ilahiya-Purana*)⁷ are more interesting and abundant. Prof. Rapson says: 'Without doubt, in India as in mediæval Europe the religious authority affirmed its supremacy and the whole ancient literature of the Kshatriyas had been Brahmanised'. Nevertheless this literature contains much that is indispensable for understanding the political conceptions of the ancient Hindus. It is certain that several digressions on the royal policy and diplomacy are intercalated from time to time in the original epics. But the fact of their having been added

¹ Fig. 36-A. *Straus*, xv. C. 707.

² Ch. xxxiv.

³ Ch. xxxiv.

⁴ Stein, *Megasthenes and Kautilya*, p. 361.

⁵ Ch. xxxix and xl.

⁶ *Arthashastra*, xxxix.

C.H.L., I, sh. xiii, p. 297.

to later on does not diminish their documentary value. Formerly it was usual to condemn and neglect them as interpolations but now the authorities in Kāshatriya literature have changed their opinion.

The point is obvious for those who examine these documents, that out of the fluid mass of didactic elements which contain the experience of the Hindus in divers aspects, are born the special disciplines studied in the various schools of thought of which we would have occasion to speak. These fragmentary ideas are arranged in a systematic and coherent whole during the period of the *Sūtras* and the *Śāstras*—of which the famous *Arthashastra* forms a part. Let us in passing notice some other important fragments in the epics. In the third book of *Vaṃśaparva* several questions relating to the duties of kings are discussed in a triangular conversation between Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Draupadī.¹ In the same book is also found the portrait of a philosopher-king. It is drawn by a hunter (ch. 207 ff.) who exposes the ideal of royalty incarnated in Janaka, the King of Videha. In another place² the great monkey-hero Hanuman (well known in the *Rāmāyaṇa*), instructs Bhīma his younger brother on the duties of the kings. (Both of them are sons of the God of Winds in two incarnations.) Several profound observations on this subject are made by the sage Viśvāmitra, the half-brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. But the Viśvāmitra is unfortunately dispersed. In the *Aśvameśvārika Parva*³ the aged prince Dhṛtarāṣṭra gives an excellent resumé of the royal science to Yudhiṣṭhira. Lastly, after the war of devastation at Kurukṣetra, the wise general Bhīṣma presents a systematic exposition of Hindu politics which stands as a turning-point in the evolution of this science. But though this exposition is included in the epic, in reality it belongs to the scholastic period which we shall examine in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE SCHOOLS (*The Sūtra and the Śāstra*)

At the commencement of this scholastic period, the studies were beginning to be systematised. Let us remember that the ancient Hindus classified their sciences at first into two great categories, namely, the spiritual discipline (*Puruṣa*), and the non-spiritual discipline (*Aparā*).

¹ *Mbh.*, *Vaṃs.*, ch. 27-35.

² *Ibid.*, ch. 310.

³ *Mbh.*, *Aśvameśvārika*, ch. 2-vii.

The Vedas represent the former while the derived sciences such as the grammar, astronomy and ritual belong to the latter group. With the development of the Brāhmanical learning there began to appear separate works destined to help the memory of the students because the habit of writing had not yet begun to spread. These scholastic manuals were either in verse, later on popularized by the legal codes (*Smṛiti*), or collections of short aphorisms in prose accompanied with commentaries (*Bhāṣya*) which the grammatical works popularised. While the origin of these technical works goes back to the pre-Buddhist period it is generally considered that their systematic compilation may be placed between the birth of the Buddha and the composition of the first artificial poetry (*Jāyā*)—the *Buddha-charita* of Aśvagōṣha.

These are the centuries of wonderful productivity; in the domain of grammar the *Nirukta* of Yāska was succeeded by the marvellous *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, and the commentaries of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. As for the legal works the *Sūtras* and the *Sūtras* of Gautama, Bandhayana, and Āpastamba were composed between 500 B.C.—A.D. 200. The famous Code of Manu comes according to Bühler between A.C. 200 and A.D. 200. Professors Hopkins and Keith are inclined to believe that the *Mahābhārata* with the Pāṇḍavas as heroes existed already during the time of Pāṇini, while, to the beginning of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, Mr. Macdonell suggests a more ancient date. Dealing with the philosophical and religious systems Dr. F. W. Thomas observes that 'as a philosophical system the sāṅkhya seems to be anterior to Buddhism and the Vaiśeṣika developed during the period of the Mauryas and it was known to Aśvagōṣha in the *Sūtra-lamkāra*. Finally the canons of Pāl-Buddhism and also those of the Jains following the tradition, were fixed at Pataliputra about 313 or 312 B.C. And the systems of Lokāyata or Ājīvika are also essentially pre-Mauryan.'¹

From the point of view of Hindu scholasticism Buddhism was more or less a reactionary monastic movement inasmuch as it deprecated the value of secular sciences for the exaltation of spiritual discipline. The result seems to have been, at least for a time, a violent dualism with a veritable conflict between the old *Paras* and the *Āpārā* *Vidyas* under a new form. The *Anguttara Nikāya* (I, p. 157) divides

¹ C. H. J., vol. I, p. 488.

the mendicant masters into two classes: the first, the Brāhmana discussing the worldly life (*lokiyata*) and secondly the *Avasthikiya*¹ who is occupied with the realization of self in meditation as well as in action.

The number and influence of these peripatetic teachers were considerable. Mr. B. C. Law has shown in an interesting article² how these professors prepared the way for the systematic writers of manuals like Chānakya who respectfully quotes them under the generic name of *Āchārya*.

Mr. Law has also given a list of forty-one names of these masters and the subjects which they discussed orally. One of them, Kupaḍiyya came to Buddha and communicated to him that he had met several Śramana and Brāhmana discussing traditional learning, the benefits of sacrifice, etc. The Buddha replied that he was only occupied with the benefits of knowledge and of emancipation.³

On the other hand, the secular science of politics is depreciated; it consists only, so they say, of accounts of 'kings, robbers, ministers, wars, battle, alliance, equipages, villages, cities, heroes, gossip and the legends of creation and speculations on existence and non-existence.' Surely this is an unconscious caricature of the *Jihama-purāṇa*. Richer are the catalogues of secular arts (*sippa*) no less depreciated, which we find in the *Brāhmapala Sutta* (Ch. 1); recitation of ballads (*Akkhānaw*); chants of the bards (*Vatāṇa*); instrumental music, dance, shows (*Pakkāṇa*), elephant and horse fighting, boxing, mock fighting, manoeuvres, military review, spilikena (*Khakhā*), or letter-guessing (*Akkharika*).

Some of the Brāhmana are depreciated for having transmitted political messages, communicated news and served as intermediaries in the service of the king and ministers of the state, and also for having lived on vulgar professions as to the science of measures (*Kāṭṭha Vija*), the science of the bow (*Dhammureṭṭa*), the science of poisoning⁴ and the science of divination formulated as follows: 'The king shall march in front or to the rear, the enemies will attack, the enemies will withdraw or advance, the allied chieftains will be victorious, the foreign leaders will be defeated, etc.' This branch of science regulated then the progress of diplomacy by fixing the auspicious time for concluding

¹ *Agg. Nib.*, iv. 38.

² *Dialogues of Buddha*, I, p. 245, II, p. 13.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, 1918.

⁴ *Atthasāra*, vi. 60, 62, 500.

trasties or entering upon wars. These are ignoble sciences. There are other pursuits ' of profound knowledge, soothing and mild, which cannot be grasped by logic only, subtle, intelligible only to the wise. These subjects the Tathagata has realized and promulgated.'

But before attaining the illumination of the Buddhahood the Bodhisatva is known according to many *Jātakas*, to possess a knowledge of the three Vedas and eighteen *vidyās* at Takṣaśīla. Among others are mentioned the science of the bow (*Dhanurveda*) and that of elephants (*Haṭh Sūtra*), snake-charming (*Alambana-Māntṛa*) and the art of discovering treasures (*Nidhi-uddharana Māntṛa*). Takṣaśīla was certainly an important centre of learning which attracted the attention and favour of great kings such as Paṇḍu of Kōśala and Bimbisāra of Magadha, the contemporaries of Buddha. It was from that town that came Jīvaka, the physician who treated Buddha in his last moments of illness.

The ancient texts on medical science were systematized in the first century of our era by the well-known Charaka, the specialist at the court of King Kanishka. The *Charaka Saṁhitā* even in the later recension which we have now has an indisputable character of antiquity and presents a parallelism with the style and methods of discussion noticeable in the *Arthashastra* of Kauṭilya.

Finally we may remark that besides the rituals *Sūtras* (*Srauta* and *Grihya*) there were several other entirely secular *Sūtras* especially used by the military class and on that account, important for us.

Nārada demands of Yudhiṣṭhira at the end of his discourse whether the king had studied with application the different useful sciences such as the science of elephants (*Haṭh Sūtra*), of horses (*Aśva Sūtra*), of chariots (*Rath Sūtra*), of the bow (*Dhanurveda*), and of machinery (*Yantra Sūtra*).

A portion of these *Sūtras* is incorporated in the works on diplomacy such as the *Sukraśāstrī* and some others appeared separately in later forms, for instance, the *Mātāngalī* published in the *Thamascara Sanskrit Series*.

But the greater part of these works have been without doubt lost. It is very probable that the science of profit (*Arthashastra*) was then systematized at this epoch and it is not impossible that a part of this work of systematisation was done by the first minister of Chandragupta Maurya. The *Arthā* is mentioned along with *Dharma*, *Rīṣa*, and *Mokṣha*, as the four pillars of the scholastic science of ancient India.

the *Kamaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana have been pointed out by Mr. Shama Sastri¹ and the problem of their historical relation has been studied by Mr. H. C. Chakradar.²

The elaboration of the intellectual and the æsthetic disciplines (*Vidyā-Kalā*) under the influence of the schools is evident in the lists of the *Śāstra*-literature³ as also in the *Kamaśāstra*, in the epics, and in the lengthy enumeration of the sixty-four arts of the following period. But what is important from the point of view of the Hindu political and diplomatic evolution is the list of the subjects of study as indicated by Kaṭṭya.

In his chapter on the enumeration of sciences (*Vidyā Samudāya*) he remains faithful to the ancient traditions although he is original in certain things. He admits that the Vēdas are three, Sāman, Rīg and Yajus; but in the following phrase, he enlarges these limits by including the 'Atharvavēda and the Itihāsavēda'.

It is interesting to note here that the Brāhman Sela living at *Āpāna* is considered as the perfect master of the three Vēdas, of the vocabulary, of the *Kaṭṭhā* (ṛ) of the etymology, of the *Itihāsa*, considered as the fifth Vēda, the prosody, the grammar and the Lokayata.⁴

Then Kaṭṭya mentions the six auxiliary sciences: phonetics (*Sikṣā*), ritual (*Kalpa*), grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), etymology and glossary (*Nirukta*), prosody (*Chanda*) and astronomy (*Jyotiṣa*). These are the *śaṅga*—the members of the scholastic body. The philosophical sciences are presented by the systems of Sāṅkhya, *Yoga* and *Lokayata*, collected under the common title of *Ānvikṣikā*. Next come two purely secular disciplines, first the *Varis* comprehending agriculture (*Kṛiśā*), the science of animals (*Pāṭyaśāstra*) and commerce (*Vaniśa*) and secondly the *Dandanīti* or the science of government.

After having given the definitions Kaṭṭya compares them with those of other schools.

¹ The school of Manu (*Mānava*) admits only three sciences: the *Ṛṣi*, the *Varis* and the *Dandanīti*, because *Ānvikṣikā* is a particular aspect of *Ṛṣi*.

The school of Bṛhaspati (*Bṛhaspatya*) admits only two, for the *Ṛṣi* is only a disguise (*Saṁvaraṇa*) for those who are experienced in human affairs (*Lokaśāstravidā*).

¹ *Ann. C. I. Ind. Stud.*
² *Ann. C. I. Ind. Stud.*

³ *Journal. University of Calcutta*, 1921.
⁴ *Ann. C. I. Ind. Stud.*

The school of Uçanas (*Uçanasa*) recognizes only one science, the *Dandamiti*. In it all sciences have their origin and end.¹

But Kaṭyāya recognizes four sciences. And he concludes by a very broad generalization when he says that 'one shall refer to the *Trayi*, in that which concerns the *Dharma* and the *Adharma*; to the *Varta*, in that which concerns the profits and losses (*Lābhalābha*), to the *Dandamiti*, in that which concerns expediency or otherwise (*Naya-naya*) as well as the questions of force or weakness (*Bala-bala*). Among these the science of Government is the more important because it is the veritable root of all other sciences (*Dandamāla*). But the *Danda* in its turn depends on discipline (*Vinayamāla*). Hence the importance attached to the discipline of the sovereign under the guidance of the aged (*Vyādha*).² After terminating the ceremony of tonsure the boy learns calligraphy (*Lipi*) and calculation (*Saṅkhyā*). After the investiture of the sacred thread, he studies the *Trayi* and the *Āvāhikā* under competent servants (*śiṣya*),³ the science of the *Varta* with the functionaries (*Adhyakṣa*), and the science of the *Dandamiti* with experts in theory and in practice (*Vakty-praveśy*). He employs the morning in practising the science of elephants, of horses, of chariots, and the use of weapons. The afternoon is devoted to a study of history (*Itihāsa-pravṛtta*), ancient legends (*Purāṇa*) chronicles (*Itihāsa*), stories (*Ākhyāyika*), parables (*Udaaharaṇa*), law (*Dharmadātṛa*) and the science of profit (*Arthasāstra*). All these branches of knowledge form the science of history.⁴ Such is the admirable conception of the historical science which Kaṭyāya prescribes as the best method for rousing the sense of responsibility in a prince who is unreasonable or is under the influence of the wicked.⁵

It is interesting to note that in the *Hiranyakeśi-Gṛhya Sūtra*⁶ it is demanded of the students to offer water (*Tarpaṇa*) to the sacred memory, first, of the great *Rishis* such as Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana, Gautama, Parāśara, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Skanda, Vasiṣṭha and Indra, some of whom are considered as masters of the discipline of *Artha* and *Dharma*; secondly, of the diverse disciplines personified and praised by their masters: the *Rig*, *Yajus*, *Sama*, *Atharva*, *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* and *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*.

¹ Cf. *Dandamiti* in *Viśva*.

² *Viśva*, 4, 3-4; *Bṛhadāra*, 1, 4-5.

³ *Viśva*, 4, 3-4; *Bṛhadāra*, 1, 4-5.

⁴ *Arthasāstra*, 1, 1, 2.

⁵ *Itihāsa*, cf. *Arthasāstra*, 1, 2.

⁶ *S.B.E.*, xxx, p. 244.

Thus with a clearness and perfect precision, Kautilya presents us with a picture of academic disciplines of his times, thus defining the place and the aim of the *Arthashastra* proper. It is worthy of remark that the *Puranas* occupies an important place in the system of Kautilya while the Purāṇic literature we possess, seems to be late.

Bühler says rightly in commenting upon the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*¹ that the *Puranas* as a literary piece of composition existed ever since the Vedic times. Those that are grouped to-day by the name '*Puranas*' are the last remains or adaptations of the ancient *Puranas*. This fact is again corroborated by the valuable researches of Pargiter. From a form which is manifestly late we cannot necessarily conclude its recent origin.

We may remark also that Kautilya ignores the science of love and the arts of *Kala*.² Perhaps he was more occupied with the *Vidyas* than with the *Kala*. Or he thought it fit to keep silent with regard to the seducing disciplines of *Kāma*.³ Perhaps also the *Kāmasūtra* and *Sāstra* were not systematized in his time, as supposed by Professor Chakradar. But there must have formerly existed a close relation between the *Kala* and the *Arthashastra*, as suggested by Bühler in his comment on the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, II. 11. 29. 11-12. According to the commentaries 'the sciences which the Śāstras and women can take to, constitute the last stage of studies.' 'They declare that those branches of knowledge are a supplement of the *Āikarveśika*.'

Bühler remarks thus in commenting that the knowledge possessed by the Śāstra and the womenfolk consisted of the dance, the theatre, the music, and other branches of the *Arthashastra*, the science of arts and crafts.

Bühler cites also the *Pratīkambhāṣa* of M. Sarasvati⁴ who affirms that the *Arthashastra* is an *Upaveśika* of the *Āikarveśika* of which Kautilya speaks with great respect. Whatever may be the exact chronological relation between Kautilya and Vātsyāyana there is a close resemblance between the styles, the legends, etc., as well as between the opening chapter of the *Arthashastra* and the first three chapters of the *Kāmasūtra*.

If the relation between the schools of *Kāma* and of *Artha* remains

¹ I. 6. 19. 13, 10. 29. 7, *S.B.E.*, vol. II, xxviii-xxix.

² *Kāmasūtra*, I. 3.

³ See *Nāṭya* in which contempt for the artist is evident. *Arthashastra*, pp. 48 and 125.

⁴ Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, I, 1-24.

yet ill-defined, that which exists between the schools or *Arthas* and of *Dharma* is very clear. These two disciplines have as a common aim the Government and their centre the king. It is, therefore, natural that they should have common parts. It is thus that we find in almost all the great collections of law books an important section on the duties of the king (*Rajadharma*) which contains important portions of the *Arthashastra*¹ and inversely, in the works of the *Arthashastra* as those of Kautilya or Śūkra, are discussed problems and articles of law. In these circumstances conflicts are inevitable. We find an allusion to these conflicts in a stanza of the well-known code of Yājñavalkya (i. 21) 'When the *Smṛitis* are in conflict, then the royal authority (*Nyāya*) must be stronger than the evidence (*Vyasaśāstra*); the authority of the *Dharmaśāstra* prevails in this case on the *Arthashastra*.' The commentary of Mithākshara attempts to weaken the opposition in stating that the above stanza does not refer at all to the conflict between the legal code and the Manuals of the *Arthas* as those Upaniṣads, but that it has an allusion to the conflicts between the *Dharmaśāstra* and its supplementary chapter on the *Rajawiki* with the help of which one must interpret the *Arthashastra*.

But the sophistry does not suppress the conflict on the fundamental question. Here Kautilya furnishes us with a very valuable commentary. In the chapter on the law he says * —

'The king is the source of *Dharma* (*Dharma pravartaka*) for the protection that he exercises of the four *Varnasramas* (castes and orders), of the usages (*Āchāra*) of the society and noble virtues in decadence.' *Dharma* or the sacred law, *Vyasaśāstra* or evidence or obligation by contract, *Chāritram* or established precedent or traditional authority, and *Rājapāṇam* or statutory law, these are the four *bases of law in discussion* enumerated in the order of increasing importance. 'In this group *Dharma* is based on established truth (*Satyasthitat*), *Vyasaśāstra* on the witness (*Sakṣi*), whilst *Chāritram* is a collection of personal examples or precedents (*Saṃgrahita Paribhā*) and *Rājapāṇam* is based on the mandates of the king.'

* It is the *Deva* (sovereign of government) which defends this world and the other when it is exercised impartially (*ajanya*) according to

¹ *S.B.S.*, II, p. xxvi.

Arthashastra, II, 17-18; *Tranśl. Arthashastra*, 20-21.

the faults of the moment (*Yathakāya*) whether they come from the very son of the king or from an enemy.¹

'By rendering justice agreeably to *Dharma*, *Vyavahāra*, *Samūhika* (established precedents) and (*Nyāya*) equity, the king shall conquer all the earth to its four boundaries.

When there is a conflict between the sacred law (*Dharma*) and the established precedents (*Samūhika*) or between the sacred law and the evidence, the final decision must always rest with the sacred law.'

'But if the sacred texts are in conflict with the sacred equity (*Dharmanyāya*) then the latter shall be of more value. In this case the citations of texts are of no value.' Thus as a practical politician Kaṭṭya, while trying to systematise the school of *Artha*, considers the impartial equity of the king as superior to the scholastic logic of the texts. Whilst Śaṅkara severely criticises the *Dharma* school, Kaṭṭya with a sense of equality and lofty equanimity, assigns to the *Dharma*, its proper place; but at the same time shows that the royal justice is the sole centre of equilibrium between the conflicting theories and struggling parties. The king, *Dandadhara* (he that wields the sceptre) is the true supporter of the four *Varnas* and *Aśramas* or orders.

By the side of this vigorous principle of political life Kaṭṭya had also the courage to preach in the land of mortification the principle of liberal and harmonious enjoyment of life: 'Be not bereft of joy, satisfy *Kāma* without doing injury to *Dharma* or *Artha*. *Dharma* and *Kāma* have *Artha* as their root. *Artha* is, therefore, supreme.'²

Whatever be the differences between the schools of *Dharma* and of *Artha*, from the point of view of ultimate superiority, the one and the other are unanimous in accepting the *Dandadhara* as the veritable soul of the science of Government. The very highest place, except for the Brāhmana, is attributed to the king by a *Sūtra* of Gautama (xi. 1) (*Rajasarvaṃnyāya Brāhmaṇa varjam*) for his impartial Government (x. 8) and even his contribution is considered by Gautama as superior (to those of the Brāhmana because the protection of society depends on the king.³ Maṇu also in the section on the *Rajadharma* exposes the same principle according to which the *Dandadhara* is an eternal subject (*Sādhya*).

¹ *Arthashastra*, I, 3.

² *Śāṅkhya*, vii. 14 and 45, *Yajña*, I, 318 and 323; *Geop.*, xi. 3.

And the excellent commentator Mōdhātīthi honoured Chāpakya specially as an expert in the science of *Dauḍantī* while Kullūka gives the *Arthashastra* as a synonym for *Dauḍantī*. The same tradition is preserved in the lexicons (*Kope*). Amara in his *Nāmalingānuṣṭhana* i, defines *Ānottakīkī-dauḍantī* as logic (*Tarkavidyā*) and the science of profit (*Arthashastra*). And Śarvāmbara in his commentary on the Lexicon of Amara cites Chāpakya as an authority.

This science of *Dauḍantī* or the *Arthashastra*¹ holds a very important place in the *Mahabharata*, especially in chapter 58 of the *Saṁtiparva* relating to *Rājadharmā*. As we have already said it was formerly the fashion to consider all the didactic passages of the epic as interpolations. Under the influence of that disdain and with the enthusiasm particular to a neophyte Mr. V. Ayer² in his criticism on the text of the *Mahabharata* denounces the two books (xii and xiii) as two 'enormous falsifications.' But if one has a little of historical sense and the patience of comparing what is said of the *Rājadharmā* in Mann³ and in the *Saṁtiparva*⁴ to what Kautilya says, one will discover a good deal of valuable information from this mass of apparent falsifications and confusion of contradictory theories. We have reserved the examination of this question till we come here because though the *Saṁtiparva* belongs formally to the epic, it furnishes principles of great value for the history of Hindu scholarship.

The terrible carnage at Kurukshetra is over; the Kurus are exterminated, and the Pāṇḍavas have gained victory, but Yudhiṣṭhira, the elder and the unique sovereign is filled with disgust for the sovereignty and wishes to renounce the world. Thus the 'chant of Peace' opens with a dramatic discussion between that afflicted king, and his brothers and their wife.⁵ These latter by turns attempted to recall the king to his duty. The most interesting discourse is that of Arjuna⁶ who had undergone a similar moral crisis just at the outset of the war, a crisis averted by the famous discourse of Kṛishṇa which forms the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Here we see Arjuna speaking in two or three different ways. At first he justifies the war and all its horrors by citing the most cruel philosophy of Kaṇva. 'The king never attains prosperity

¹ *op. cit.*, xii, ch. 58, 33.

² *A Study of a Study of the Mahabharata* (Madras, 1932), p. 271.

³ *op. cit.*, 10.

⁴ *op. cit.*, 10.

⁵ *op. cit.*, 10.

⁶ *op. cit.*, 10.

without tearing away the life of his enemies, like a fisherman Afterwards he preaches in an over-subtle language the elastic doctrine of the *Gita* :

'The most profound soul of all beings is incapable of being killed. How can, therefore, one be killed by another? Just as a person enters a new house, the soul passes through successive bodies.'

But the most important of his arguments is that which leads to the apotheosis of the *Deva*, the one principal regulator of the society, incarnate in the powerful sovereign. Arjuna quotes at first the *Plutus Smyti*¹ which commends the *Deva* and finally rests on the philosophy of Kautilya.

'If the king, ever anxious about the tasks of Government does not apply the *Deva*, then the weaker will be devoured by the stronger as fishes in the water.'

For not being applied it brings about the order of fish morality. The stronger devours the weaker owing to the absence of the bearer of *Deva*. This is the reason why it is said: 'the Gupta is the master.' One could recall to mind here the establishment of monarchy by means of a regular social contract in order to destroy anarchy as described later on in the *Samhitara*.²

But Yudhishthira remained still depressed with this moral crisis. To effect a remedy, the great sage Vyāsa appeared and advised him to consult the dying hero Bhīṣma on *Rajadharma*. This is the epic justification of this vital topic. Bhīṣma is honoured by Vyāsa as the greatest master of the royal science, having studied it with the learned Bṛhaspati, the master of gods and also with Śakra, the master of demons. Bhīṣma commences his discourse in chapter 56 and gives a splendid résumé of the royal science as a whole in three successive

¹ H. 22, cf. *Māh.*, III, 15-11.

यदि न प्रणयेत् राजा बन्धुं दण्डयेत् कतमिदम् ।

बले मात्स्यान् इवामकम् दुर्बलम् बलमप्यहम् ।

This is simply putting in verse the prose of Kautilya (*Arthashastra*, I, 2, p. 8).

कतमिदं हि मात्स्यपायम् सत्माकयति । बलीयान् बलवत् हि प्रोक्तो दण्ड-

कर्मण्ये तेन गुहा प्रभवति इति ॥

² *Arthashastra*, III, 20; *Maurya*, vii, 20. * Cf. loc. cit.

chapters, while examining frequently the accessory problems. It is interesting to note the different schools of royal science therein mentioned.

At the beginning, Brahma-Prajāpati composed a work in hundred thousand chapters in order to assure the good Government of the world. This treatise did not only embrace the *Trivarga*, *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* ¹ but also the *Moksha*. It was condensed by god Śiva-Viçāṇiksha in ten thousand chapters. Again Indra-Bāhucantaka condensed it into five thousand chapters, Bṛhaspati into three thousand, and Kavi-Uçanas in a thousand chapters. This was out of commiseration for the progressive diminution of the span of human life. In the chapter lix of *Saṁtiparva* is given a resumé of the original treatise of Brahma which is concerned practically with all the important branches of the *Darśanāt*. In the preceding chapter (livii) the compilers (राजशास्त्रकाराः) of the royal science are enumerated as follows:—

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Bṛhaspati. | 4. Mūhendra. |
| 2. Viçāṇiksha. | 5. Praçātsa Manu. |
| 3. Kāvya. | 6. Bharadvāja. |
| 7. Gaureçtras. | |

Such is the history of the royal science at the time when the epic hero Bhīṣma discourses on it. When a historic compiler like Kaṭṭya appears the science has already behind it centuries of discussions and elaborations. But he finds himself in presence of a great confusion, because of the accumulation of texts, of glosses, and of contradictory theories promulgated by divers schools. Thus the science was almost lost in a sea of obscurities from which Kaṭṭya rescued it (*udāhṛta*). He composed his *śāstra* as well as his *śāṭya* or commentary, himself for avoiding the mistake, as he has said at the conclusion of his treatise.² The comparison of data of the epic with those of the *Arthaśāstra* is of enormous importance. Dr. Jacobi in two essays³ studied this subject and gave a list of schools and the respective authors of the *Rājasth*, and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has utilised⁴ the results of Dr. Jacobi in his study of the *Saṁtiparva*.

¹ *Māh.*, xii, ch. 338; *Kaṇadāstra*, i. 8, 9, 7.

² *Arthaśāstra*, p. 431.

³ *Journal, Berlin*, 1883-22.

⁴ *Journal of Asiatic Society*, pp. 80-81.

<i>Schools</i>	<i>Individual authors</i>
1. Mānavāḍh.	1. Bhāradvāja.
2. Bārhaspatyaḍh.	2. Viçākṣkṣha
3. Auçanasāḍh.	3. Parāçara.
4. Pārāçaraḍh.	4. Piçuna (Nārada).
5. Āmbhṛtyaḍh.	5. Kaupapadanta (Bhīṣma).
	6. Vāṭavyādhi.
	7. Bāhndantiputra (Indra or Aindra) ?
	8. Kātyāyana.
	9. Kaupila Bhāradvāja.
	10. Dīrga Cārṣyapa (—? Cārṣyapa of <i>Kāmasūtra</i> , I 12).
	11. Ghoṭa-Mukha (—? Ghoṭakamukha of <i>Kāmasūtra</i> , I 14; —? <i>ghoṭa-ctras</i> .)
	12. Kīṣijalka.
	13. Piçunaputra (? Nāradiya).

The conclusions arrived at by D. R. Bhandarkar by comparing a few texts of the *Mānvaḍśāstra*, of Manu and Kaṭyāya are interesting. These three texts have drawn their substance from more ancient sources, although one of these schools preserves the more primitive form, whereas another shows traces of later manipulations. The traditional texts are partly in prose and partly in verse (*Sūtras* or *śloka*). The differences between prose and verse are relevant in the study of style but they instruct nothing on chronology.

The *Bṛhaspatismā* published by Dr. Thomas is written in the style of the *Sūtras* but is surely a later work, whilst the syntax of several *śloka*s of the famous *Ārṇakāstra* proclaims them as ancient.

It is probable then that many *Sūtras* and *śloka*s which Kaṭyāya has cited and amalgamated in his text were from older sources.

Kaṭyāya seems to belong to an epoch when the science of profit, was in great confusion. It is difficult to distinguish to-day, as in the time of Kaṭyāya, between the diverse authors and schools. The disciple of Bāhndantaka-Indra appears as an author Bāhndantiputra exactly as Piçunaputra, disciples of Piçuna-Nārada. The identification which Bhandarkar proposes between Bhīṣma (he who gives out the *Rajmā* in the *Śaṭpārva*) and Kaupapadanta, following

the authority of Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, is very probable. But a number of new names of the masters of the *Artha* appears and Kaṭṭāya has in his compilation collected all the theories and fluctuating principles under the generic name of *Acharya* which is referred to twenty-three times. It is very probable that the science of profit in the epoch of Kaṭṭāya had suffered from dispersion just as the science of pleasure *Kāmaśāstra* which Vātsyāyana has rescued as we see in his introduction.¹

'Thus the scientific treatise reduced to fragments by several savants, is nearly lost.' Kaṭṭāya at the end of his *Arthashastra* shows a similar solicitude. He is entitled to our lasting gratitude for having delivered the science from oblivion and his having infused into it a new spirit of life. His *Arthashastra* occupies a position, quite unique in the scholastic tradition of ancient India.

The other existing treatises on the same subject are small and fragmentary. Time has greatly damaged the works of the schools of Bṛhaspati and of Śakra who are ever venerated as pioneers of this science. Kaṭṭāya has rendered homage to these at the beginning of his treatise. The compilers of the epics, likewise render them homage through the mouth of Hanuman² who commences his discourse on polity by saying that the 'world of men is governed according to the laws of Bṛhaspati and of Uṇḁpa.' Amongst the works of these two schools, that of Śakra has been partially discovered and published by Dr. G. Oppert under the title of *Sakrasūtra* translated into English by Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. But this seems to be a recent manual where there is mention of gun powder! The works of the school of Bṛhaspati passed for being completely lost, until Dr. F. W. Thomas happily discovered and published them under the title of *Bṛhaspati Sūtra*. Written in the ancient style of the *Sūtras* they contain many ancient things. That text includes recent sectarian interpolations amidst which is preserved in the old orthodox style several genuine *Sūtras*.

We have also a very complete resumé of the *Śantiparva* and *Mahā-saṁgiti* in the style of *śloka* of which we have another specimen in the discourse of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Yudhiṣṭhira.³ Under the same form we find a resumé of this science in the *Agnipurāṇa*.⁴ Finally we have a systematic summary in the *Kāmandakya Nītiśāra* (which we suppose

¹ *Kāmaśāstra*, I, 1, 18.

² *Mbh.*, *Agnesandakya*, ch. v, vi, vii.

³ *Mbh.*, vii, 150-25.

⁴ *Ch.*, 220-227; 233-241.

to be of the third and fourth century after Christ), which remains for several centuries (ages) the most appreciated of manuals of royal science, and which has been transported to Java and Bali by adventurous princes who set out to colonise the insular India.¹

We can follow in detail the history of the *Artha* through all these texts making use when necessary of the sources of those texts, and examine the section of the *Arthashastra* which treats of diplomacy proper and which constitutes the sixth and seventh *Adhikarana*. This exposition will allow us to form an idea of the position of Kaṭilya in the evolution of the theories of Hindu diplomacy.

¹ Cf. Fournier, *Gr Indiens la loro scienze politiche*, 1899

The Rebellion of Prince Khusru according to Jesuit Sources

BY

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FATHER H. HERAS published in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1924 (pages 33 to 41) a letter of Fr. Jerome Xavier on *The Siege and Conquest of the Fort of Asirgarh by the Emperor Akbar*, translated from one of the annual accounts of the Jesuit Missions edited in Portuguese by Father Fernão Guerreiro. The narrative of the rebellion of Prince Khusru, I am going to give in this paper, is also a translation of one of these accounts by Fr. Fernão Guerreiro.

The title of Guerreiro's work is as follows: '*Relacão Anual das cousas que fizeram Os Padres Da Companhia de Iesus nas partes da India Oriental, & em algumas outras da conquista deste reyno no anno de 606 & 607. Do processo da conversão, & Christandade daquellas partes.*'

The work was printed at Lisbon in 1609. The narrative of Khusru's rebellion is contained in Chapter V, pages 148 to 151. The author of the letter is not mentioned as usual, but I think I shall not be mistaken, if I advance my suspicion in favour of the same Fr. Jerome Xavier.

At the end of this translation, I shall add another extract referring to the same Prince, translated from a similar account published in Spanish by Doctor Christoval Svaes de Figueroa, under the following title: '*Historia Y Anál Relación de las cosas que hicieron los Padres de la Compañía de Iesus por las partes de Oriente Y otras, en la propagación del Santo Evangelio los años pasados de 607. Y 608.*' The work was printed at Madrid in 1614, and my extract is taken from page 13.

CHAPTER V

HOW THE PRINCE REVOLTED AGAINST HIS FATHER
AND THE END OF HIS UNDERTAKING.

A little after the death of the old King and the appointment of a successor,¹ the Prince, son of this new King² revolted against his father, as he was not in his favour,³ just as this new King had revolted against his own father.⁴

¹ Prince Salim, who assumed the title of Jehangir when succeeding Akbar.

² Prince Khurram, who was the eldest son of Jehangir.

³ 'During the Emperor's illness, the weight of affairs fell upon the Khan-i-Azam, and when it became evident that the life of the illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted with Raja' Man Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Sultan Khurram Emperor and determined to seize the Prince (Salim) when he came according to his daily customs to pay respect at Court.' Asad Beg, *Wakaya*, Elliot, vi, p. 169. Jehangir himself writes in his *Memoirs* about the beginning of Khurram's rebellion as follows: 'Futile ideas had entered the mind of Khurram in consequence of his youth and the pride youths have, and the lack of experience and the lack of foresight of worthless companions, especially at the time of my revered father's illness. As the futile imaginations of the ambitious and short-sighted had no result but disgrace and regret, the affairs of the kingdom were committed in the hands of this suppliant at the throne of Allah I invariably found Khurram pre-occupied and distracted.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, p. 51. William Hawkins says: 'But Comero (Khurram), who was proclaimed heir apparent, stomached his father, and rose with great troops, yet was not able to induce after the loss of many thousand men on both sides, but was taken and remained still in prison in the King's palace, yet blind, as all men report, and was so commanded to be blinded by his father.' Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 106. 'Sultan Choron (Khurram), the eldest son, a very hopeful prince, and a great friend to the Christians, having been settled in a peculiar Lordship, rebelled against his Father Schiah Salim, in the year 1606. Under pretence that the kingdom belong'd justly to him, because King Ekbar his grand-father had on his death bed given his Realm to him, as being his grand-child, who was then born, and had excluded Salim his Father, and only son to Ekbar, wherefore he took up arms against him to obtain that from his Father which his grand-father had in his last will and Testament given to him.' John Ogilby, *Asia, the First Part*, p. 170. 'Sultan Choron, the eldest, who was a Prince of much expectation, rebelled against his Father, under pretence that the kingdom by right belonged unto him, because indeed King Ekbar, his grand-father, at his death left it to him, his nephew (sic), being then born, and not to Salim the Father, who was his son, being displeas'd with his son Salim, for that one time in his life he attempted to rebel against him.' Grey, *Travels of Pierre Dela Valle*, p. 86.

⁴ William Hawkins says: 'This Salim Padshah being in his rebellion, his father dispossessed him and proclaimed heir-apparent his eldest son Comero, being eldest son to Salimshah, for his own sones (Munir and Durrani), younger brothers to Salim were all dead in Deccan and Gujarat. Yet shortly after his

On Saturday, April 15,¹ he went out at night,² with some select officers and friends he had in the fortress,³ without telling them his intention.⁴ His friends however began to tell each other that he was going to the tomb of his grandfather.*

Hearing this the sentinel as well as the guards of the fortress allowed him to pass; and at the same time his men styled him as King Sultan, and were taking as many⁶ horses as could be found and whatever necessary for their defence.

father died, who in his death-bed had mercy on Solim, possessing him again.⁷ Foster, *Early Travels in India*, pp. 107-8. William Finch 'Sha Belim, upon some disgust, took arms in his father's Bedine and fled into Perrop, where he kept the Strong Castle of Alohmee (Allahabad) (but came in some three months before his father's decease), whereupon Aurber gave the Crown to Sultan Cameroun his sonne.' Foster, *o.s.*, p. 138. Jahangir had revolted against Akbar about July 10, 1600 and assumed royal title in 1601. Cf. V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 303-5.

* Jahangir himself says: 'On the night of Sunday, Zi-i-hijja 8th, of the year mentioned (April 6, 1606), when two ghazies had passed, he (Khuru) made a pretence of going to visit the tomb of His Majesty (Akbar)'. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p. 32. 'At length, he concocted a scheme with his abettors and on the night of the Zi-i-hijja 8th, he represented that he was going to visit the tomb of my father'. *Wahid-i-Jahangiri*, Elliot, vi, p. 291. Father Du Jarric, *Travels Return Indiennes*, II, p. 108, gives the date as April 15, 1606. Notice that there is a great discrepancy on this particular point among the sources. Beveridge's date of rebellion is not correct, for Akbar died on October 15, 1605. Hence Khuru could not have rebelled against his father six months before Jahangir in his *Memoirs* says: 'The flight of Khuru was in the middle of the first year of my reign'. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p. 51. This assuredly proves that the rebellion must have taken place in the first half of 1606. As regards the day, Beveridge is more reliable than Elliot. So it is April 6, 1606. As regards Du Jarric, he took his information from the Jesuit account, we are translating, which gives a wrong date. Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 130, also gives the date of Khuru's escape as April 6, 1606.

* Khuru went out on Sunday night, Zi-i-hijja 8th (April 6, 1606). Cf. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, p. 32. By Sunday night is meant Saturday evening. Sunday was Akbar's birthday. That is the reason why he said he was going to visit his tomb. Cf. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, p. 32, foot-note.

* Khuru was imprisoned in the fort of Agra on account of the recent injuries and insults. Cf. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, p. 32. 'I confined him, and quieted my doubts and apprehensions'. *Wahid-i-Jahangiri*, Elliot, vi, p. 291. Beni Prasad says: 'On the other hand, the recent injuries and insults rankled in the heart of Jahangir who, apprehensive of a repetition of the risks he had undergone, placed his son in a sort of semi-confinement within the Fort of Agra.' Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 130.

* His intention was to rebel against his father.

* The tomb of Akbar was about three kos distant from Agra, at Sikanderah.

* He went off with 350 horsemen, who were his adherents, from within the Fort of Agra. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p. 51.

Having learnt this news¹ the King consulted with his minister,² who advised him to detain the Prince; but the King finally resolved to go after him.³

Early next morning, he marched out.⁴ His son (Khurru) had met on the way a general of the army⁵ who was coming from Lahore to see the King. The general, on being treated very kindly by the Prince, was drawn to his side, and accordingly he went with all his men back to Lahore, in company of the Prince.

He also met another general⁶ who was bringing to the King

¹ Jehangir's account is as follows: 'Shortly after, one of the lamp attendants, who was acquainted with the Wazir-i-mulk, gave him the news of Khurru's flight. The Wazir took him to the Amiru-i-umara, who, as the news seemed true, came in a distracted state of mind to the door of the private apartments, and said to one of the eunuchs, "Take in my request and say that I have a necessary representation to make, and let the king honour me by coming out." When I came out and heard what the news was, I asked, "What must be done? Shall I mount myself, or shall I send Khurru?"' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 82.

² The minister was the Amiru-i-umara. Jehangir's words are the following: 'The Amiru-i-umara submitted that he would go, if I ordered it. "Let it be so," I said. Afterwards he said, "If he will not turn back on my advice, and take up arms, what must be done?" Then I said, "If he will go in no way on the right road, do not consider a crime anything that results from your action. Kingship regards neither a son nor son-in-law. No one is a relation to a king."'*Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 82.

³ 'In consequence of the dignity and nearness (to me) which he (the Amir) enjoyed he was an object of envy to his equals and contemporaries. Perhaps they might devise treachery and destroy him. I therefore ordered Mirza-i-mulk to recall him, and selecting in his place Shaikh Farid Rakhsh-begi commanded him to start at once.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 83. Elliot, *o.s.*, p. 299, seems to have misinterpreted the above passage. He says: 'He (the Amiru-i-umara) also, in consequence of the position and dignity that he holds, is envious of his peers. God forbid lest he should be malicious and destroy him.' From the words in note 14, we know that Jehangir was not apprehensive at all, lest the Amiru-i-umara should destroy Khurru, but the Emperor was afraid lest his favourite the Amir should be killed by Khurru or by his favourite's treacherous enemies.

⁴ 'Morning day dawned, and in reliance on the grace and favour of God Almighty, and with clear resolve, I mounted, withheld by nothing and to one. When I reached the venerable mausoleum of my revered father, which is three kos from the city, I begged for aid to my courage from the spirit of that honoured one.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 84.

⁵ 'When Khurru arrived at Mathura, he met Husain Beg Badakhshi, who was of those who had received favours from my revered father and was coming from Kabul to wait on me. As it is the temperament of the Badakhshis to be seditions and turbulent, Khurru regarded this meeting as a godsend, and made Husain Beg the Captain and Guide of 500 or 300 Badakhshan Aimaqs, who were with him.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, pp. 84-85. It seems that Husain Beg was on his way to the Court in obedience to an imperial summons.

⁶ He was Abdu-r-Rahim, the Dewan of Lahore. 'About this time Abdu-r-Rahim also reached Panipat from Lahore, and Dilawar Khan suggested to him

about Rs. 100,000,¹ which amounted to more or less 40,000 cruzados.² He took this sum from the general and distributed it among his soldiers, and whatever else he had with him also he gave liberally to them.

By the report of this act of generosity, about 12,000 men³ joined the Prince on the way, and when he reached Lahore, a distance of 100 miles from Agra, he had already a good army.

When the people of Lahore came to know of the flight of the Prince⁴ they closed the gates of the city and refused to hand it over to him. Thereupon the Prince besieged the city and harassed the people for eight days,⁵ but could not take it.

Here he heard that his father was pursuing him. He abandoned the siege and marched against his father in order to block his passage

that he too should send his children across the river and should stand aside and await the victorious standard of Jehangir. As he was lethargic and timid, he could not make up his mind to do this, and delayed so much that Khusrav arrived. He went out and waited on him, and either voluntarily or in a state of agitation agreed to accompany him. He obtained the title of Malik Anwar and the position of Vazier.⁶ *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 50.

¹ 'On the way, the Prince intercepted an imperial convoy of a lakh of rupees, which he distributed among his followers. Flying past Delhi, they were joined by Abdur Rahim who was on his way to the court.' Beni Prasad, *History of Jehangir*, p. 140. It seems however that the convoy was brought over to the court by Abdur-Rahim himself.

² Cruzado. This was a Portuguese silver coin worth 480 reis. A rei is equivalent to one pie.

³ 'As Lahore is one of the greatest places in Hindustan, a great number of people gathered in six or seven days. It was reported on good authority that 10,000 or 12,000 horses were collected.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 63. The fact is also mentioned by William Finch. 'But after Anwar's death, Helim by his friends seized on the castle and treasure, and his sons fled for Lahor, where he gathered some 12,000 horses, all good soldiers and Moguls.' Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 169. Beni Prasad, *History of Jehangir*, p. 140, says they were ploughmen and free lances.

⁴ They were made aware of it by Dilawar Khan, a general who remained loyal. 'Dilawar Khan, like a brave man, turned towards Lahore, and on his road informed everyone and every body of the servants of the court and the *haveriyas* and the merchants, whom he came across, of the exodus of Khusrav.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 50.

⁵ 'When the siege had lasted for nine days, news of the approach of the royal army came repeatedly to Khusrav and his adherents.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 64. In the translation, we find that the Prince besieged the city and harassed the people for eight days. This means that the Prince besieged the city, in the strict sense of the word, and on the ninth day made up his mind to face his father.

over a river.¹ But he arrived too late, because already some standard-bearers of his father's army had crossed.

And the bad luck of this unhappy Prince was further heightened by torrents of rain² which made all his bows wet and thus reduced their bending power, and the horses could not be controlled owing to the damp and marshy ground.

Resigning himself to fate, he daringly attacked that part of the King's army which had crossed the river, killed a great number of soldiers and routed the rest.

And all would surely have perished, had not an officer who saw their slight resistance used this stratagem. The officer sent out spies as messengers who went to the army of the Prince, with the report that the King had already crossed the river and was coming with a great army; and all those who heard this news believed it.

After this the officer suddenly ordered the beat of drums and blow the trumpets,³ as played when the King marches.

The Prince wanted to continue the fight with the King's men; and had he done so he would have destroyed that detachment which had crossed the river; and the other part, which was with the King would have lost courage, and he would have succeeded.

But by the false news that the King was approaching the officer attained his object. And the King's men who were defeated and subdued believed in earnest that the King had arrived, and entreated the Prince not to march further, but to turn back. The Prince refused,

¹ The bridge of Cobindwal, which was over the Beas tributary of the Indus.—

² 'In fine, when I reached the head of the bridge of Cobindwal, 400 or 500 horse good and bad had come together.' *Memoirs of Jahangir*, i, p. 63.

³ It rained heavily in the night of Thursday the 10th. Cf. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, i, p. 63.

⁴ William Finch says: 'In this place, he (Khusrau) gave battell to Strek Perced (Shaikh Farid), and disordered his three hundred horses and put them to the sword. To the second (i.e., assistance) of him came Melec Ale Cutwall (Khwāja Malik Ali, the Kotwāl) (the King being some 20 c. behind) with some two hundred beating up the king's drummes and giving a brave assault, shouting God save King Salim; upon which the Prince's soldiers fainted and fled, the Prince himself fleeing only with five horses, and 30 c. beyond Lahore for Cabul.' Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 165. No other author but W. Finch gives such a detailed account, which tallies with the Jesuit one, regarding the ingenuitiveness of the Emperor's Captain in terrifying Khusrau and his men. Jahangir only says: 'Seyed Hailan and his brother, two of Khusrau's generals, terror-stricken by the din of the imperial kettle-drums, fled in consternation from the field, at the very commencement of the action.' *Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi*, Elibot, vi, p. 732.

But his Captain General¹ catching the horse by the reins forced him to turn back, and said. 'We surely will lose, if you march further.'

With this advice,² the Prince turned back with him and his soldiers fled in confusion. Thereupon the King's men began to kill some of the Prince's soldiers. The King then crossed the river and the Prince fled to take refuge into the kingdom of Kabul,³ which also belonged to the King.

The King then issued orders along all the fordable parts of the river,⁴ to prevent the Prince from crossing it. When the Prince reached one of these fords,⁵ order had already reached, and the Captain who was the governor of that country was already there to hinder the Prince from crossing.

The Captain ordered all the boats to be cleared off this place, keeping only one to whose crew he gave instructions that as soon as the Prince embarked, they should take him to an island in the middle

¹ The general was Husain Beg. Cf. note 2 below.

² 'Husain Beg, whose people and family and treasure were in the direction of Kabul, suggested going to Kabul.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 66.

³ Cf. note 2 above. 'In the end, as action was taken according to the wish of Husain Beg, the Hindustanis and the Afghans decided to separate themselves from him.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 66.

⁴ The river was the Chenab. 'The ferries over the river had been stopped, because before Khusrü's defeat orders had been given to all the jagirdars and the superintendents of the Punjab, that as this kind of dispute had arisen, they must all be on their alert.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 66.

⁵ William Finch says 'But (Khusrü) being to pass a river, where he gave orders of gold, the boat-men grew in distrust, and in the midst of the Channall leapt over-board and swam to the shore, where he gave notice to the Governor of the town adjoining, who presently with fifty horse came down to the river, where the boat was still floating, embarked himself in another and saluted by the name of king, dissemblingly offering his aide and inviting him to the house; which the Prince accepting, was looked up with his Company and guarded till he had sent the king word, who sent Cennana Beg to fetch him fettered on an elephant.' Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 159. This account of William Finch nearly agrees with that of the Jesuit Jehangir himself says 'On arriving at the Chenab he proposed to cross at the ferry of Shikhpur, which is one of the recognized crossings, but as he could find no boats there, he made for the ferry of Bodharah, where his people got one boat without boatmen and another full of firewood and grass. . . . Minasa Beg wished to transfer the men from the boat with firewood and grass to the other, so that they might convey Khusrü across.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 66. The Jesuit account says that there was only one boat, whose crew were instructed as to how they should act, when Khusrü and his followers reached the ferry. Probably the boatmen of the empty boat were transferred with due instructions to the boat full of firewood and grass.

of the river and with the pretext of bringing the rest of his retinue, to come back and inform him (the Captain).

They abided¹ by the Captain's instructions. The Captain then embarked on another boat and went to the Prince with whom was the general and a few other officers. He greeted them and confidently took them in his fortress, and when all were in, he made them understand that he was going to order a dinner and came out, and he then bolted the doors from outside.

The followers of the Prince could not do anything. They could not cross the river, for there was not a single boat in the river. At this juncture, they came to realise that the Prince was made a prisoner, and they dispersed.

About this time, the King was coming to Lahore, and the two Padres² who were in the Church of Lahore went out to receive him. These priests were threatened by the heathens, who had resolved to kill them when the Prince would enter the city. They went two leagues away from the Church³ to greet the King, who was coming, surrounded by two body-guards of soldiers well organised; close to him some officers, behind him the army, and in front of him were scouts to clear the road. But when these scouts saw the two priests, they allowed them to pass. Then the King, who was riding on a horse, as well as the whole army halted.

The priests saluted the King, who received them most joyfully, asked them about their health and accepted the small gift, which they offered him. The King wished them 'Au revoir' and gave orders to march.

In the evening, he got news of his son's imprisonment,⁴ and

¹ The Jesuit account of the capture of Khurru varies from that of Jahangir. 'On the morning of Sunday, the 24th of the above-mentioned month, people on elephants and in boats captured Khurru.' *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p. 67.

² The Fathers of the third Jesuit Mission reached Lahore on May 15, 1626. They were given a house between the fort and the river by order of the Emperor. Cf. Gurnán, *Historia de Las Misiones*, p. 150.

³ Later on the Emperor gave these Fathers a firm to build a Church and a house, and both buildings were finished in 1597 by Fr. Manoel Pinheiro. Gurnán, *Historia de Las Misiones*, pp. 132-4. One of the two priests referred to here, was Fr. Manoel Pinheiro and the other was most probably Fr. Jerome Xavier, who had gone previously to Lahore to receive the King, though he was usually in the capital.

⁴ 'On Monday, the last day of the month, news of this (capture of Khurru) reached me in the garden of Mirza Kamran.' *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p. 67.

immediately despatched one of his generals¹ with soldiers to fetch him. The general went to the Prince, and without saluting presented some fetters covered with velvet to him; and saying that such was the order of the King, he put these fetters to the Prince's feet and brought him² guarded by soldiers. Along with him he brought the officers, who were imprisoned in the fortress.

Upon arriving at Lahore³ and after crossing the river, the King sent him an elephant ill-equipped, and took him to his (the King's) camp, because the King had not entered the city as yet.

When the King was informed that the Prince had arrived, he went to his tent weeping bitterly like Joseph⁴ because he could not control his paternal feelings.

After a while, he came out⁵ and ordered the whole court to be present to hear the judgement.⁶ The Prince was brought in to the presence of his father, and after saluting the King, he stood. The King bade him come close through the high officials and dignitaries of the court. He was brought there with chains on his feet and handcuffs. This was a pitiful scene indeed. The King, his father,

¹ 'I immediately ordered the Amru-umara to go to Gujarat and to bring Khuran to wait on me.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 88.

² Cf. note 1, in p. 8. Jehangir in his *Memoirs* says 'On Thursday, Muharram 8th, 1015, in Mirza Kamran's garden, they brought Khuran with his hands tied and chains on his legs from the left side after the manner and custom of Chingiz Khan.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 88.

³ 'On Wednesday, Muharram 8th, I auspiciously entered the Fort of Lahore.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 70.

⁴ Only Beni Prasad mentions that Jehangir wept bitterly. He says, 'Jehangir himself was overwhelmed with sorrow and retired to a private room to weep out his feelings. He burst into tears at the thought of the strife within his family.' Beni Prasad, *History of Jehangir*, p. 146. This is an allusion to the biblical account of Joseph, Jacob's son, who being Viceroy of Egypt, after seeing his youngest brother Benjamin, "his heart was moved upon his brother, and tears gushed out, and going into his chambers he wept." *Genesis*, xliii. 30.

⁵ 'And when he (Joseph) had washed his face, coming out again, he refrained himself and said, "Get bread on the table." Likewise Jehangir also after a time controlled his feelings and ordered the whole court to be present to hear the judgement.' Pietro Della Valle says 'With this pretence Sultan Chosrou once raised a great Army against his Father, but, coming to a battle, he was routed, and fore'd to surrender himself freely to his Father, who, chiding him with words rather gentle than otherwise, ask'd him to what end he made these tumults, knowing well that he had and kept the whole Kingdom for him?' Grey, *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, I, pp. 55-6.

⁶ There is no mention of this Durbar in any of the Mohammedan authors. The Jewish *Pachias* were most likely eye-witnesses of it.

feigned to be very angry, spoke hotly and very severely reprimanded him. He also ordered the two commanding officers to be brought near. One of them had been a very important Captain and as such had served the King and his father in different and important undertakings. The other was the head of the revenue and governor of this kingdom of Lahore. Both of them were chained from head to foot. The King then spoke to them mocking the King that had taken as well as the Captains who supported such a King.

The end of the trial was that the Prince was put into chains and given¹ into the custody of a Captain. As regards the two captains he ordered that the clothes of the first General should be striped off and that he should be attired with the fresh skin of an ox, which was to be slaughtered at that very moment; as regards the other Captain, he was ordered to be dressed with the skin of an ass, which was similarly slaughtered.² The King finally ordered that the skins should be tightly sewn, so that they when drying should adhere to their bodies and torment them.

In this state, they remained that night, and in the morning the King ordered them to be carried in the city and to be led through all the roads each of them riding on a donkey with their faces turned to the tail.³ This was a horrid sight indeed, because people knew them well in quite a different dress and position and because they were dressed in those skins in such a manner, that the horns of the ox and ears of the ass were over their foreheads.

When they reached the camp where the King was staying, the first Captain had become suffocated and vexed with the injuries and insults, he received on the same roads he had so often crossed accompanied by cavalry and infantry. So he became entirely exhausted and

¹ 'When his purport became apparent to me I did not allow him to continue talking, but handed over Khumsar in chain.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 68. 'Moreover he suffer'd him (Khumsar) no longer to live freely, but committed him to the safe but honorable custody of certain Grandees of his Court.' Grey, *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, I, c.

² 'I ordered these two villains to be put in the skins of an ox and an ass, and that they should be mounted on asses with their faces to the tail and thus taken round the city.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 68-9. Pietro Della Valle says: 'And (his father made him) to behold some of his faithfulest confidants sew'd up in beast's skins, and be so left miserably to rot, he bade him see in what sort of people he had confided.' Grey, *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, I, c.

³ Cf. note, 2 above.

fell down senseless.¹ The King at once ordered to sever his head and carry it to the gate of Agra in order to hang it there and to make four pieces of the body and to pin them at the four corners of the road.² The head of the controller of the revenue was ordered to remain on his skin-dressed body, granting him as a favour³ that a servant should wet some parts of his skin, so that he might not get tormented. This was some sort of relief to him. However, he suffered much due to the humidity, which generated worms in the skin that were molesting him and he considered himself fortunate, whenever he could remove some with his fingers. The skin on his body rotted so much by the heat of the sun, that a very nasty and foul stink was issuing. No one was daring to approach him. But, at last, he was pardoned,⁴ because a private officer of the King had proposed to marry one of his daughters and interceded on his behalf offering the King to pay 100,000 cruzados; and the same evening, he was released. Then he was reinstated⁵ by the King on his former post, as if nothing had happened.

Regarding the soldiers of the Prince, many were captured as sheep without shepherd. As the King desired to enter the city with them, he ordered the roads from the camp to the city where he was halting to be fixed with stakes, because he wanted to hang about a hundred men⁶ apiece on both sides of the road, among whom were relations

¹ 'As the ox-hide dried more quickly than that of the ass, Husain remained alive for four watches and died from suffocation.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 60.

² There is not the slightest mention of this in any of the authors.

³ 'Abdu-r-Rahim, who was in the ass's skin and to whom they gave some refreshment from outside, remained alive.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 60.

⁴ Jehangir does not mention the reason why he pardoned Abdu-r-Rahim. 'On the 14th Zi-i-hijja, having pardoned all the faults of Abdu-r-Rahim Khan, I promoted him to the rank of Yushahi (Centurion) and 20 horse.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 164.

⁵ Cf. note 4 above.

⁶ Jehangir in his *Memoirs* does not give the exact number of Almas hung:—

'For the sake of good government I ordered posts to be set upon both sides of the road from the garden to the city, and ordered them to hang and impale the seditious Almas and others who had taken part.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 63. The number of Almas hung according to the Jesuit account most probably seems correct. 'Yet his deeds were sharper than his words; for in the first place he caus'd all the chief Captains to be slain and showing them so slain to Chosroo, as in his return with triumph he made him to pass along with himself in the middle of a long row of their barbarously mangled in several manners.' Grey, *Travels of Sir Walter Dells Folly*, Lo.

of some of his private officers. But they could not do anything for them, nor did any one venture to plead for them, lest they should be suspected as partisans of the Prince.

After this, the King rode on a huge, richly caparisoned elephant, as a victorious sovereign, looking in all directions and receiving congratulations for what he had done. Just behind him, rode the Prince on a lean, small elephant. The poor boy was with chains on his feet, awaiting the end of his pitiful tragedy.

The King on entering the city, ordered the Prince to stay in the same palace with light fetters on,¹ and deprived him of all the decorations and titles, even the title of heir to the throne. The King then appointed heir to the throne his second son—the brother of the Prince.² The King got 100,000 cruzados from the Captain killed by his order and from the other culprits he received a large amount, which he kept for himself. And the horses and other goods taken from the Prince were distributed among some officers, who were enemies of the Prince, in order to weaken his power.

When the Prince was fleeing from Agra, on that³ road there was a pagan, called the *Guru*,⁴ who was considered among the pagans like

¹ 'On the 13th I sent for Khurram and ordered them to take the chains off his legs that he might walk in the Shah-ara garden.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, p. 111.

² He was Prince Parwis. 'Parwis was born of Sahib-Jamal (Mistress of Beauty), the cousin of Kehn Khūn Koka, two years and two months after the birth of Khurram.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, i, pp. 18-19. 'I bestowed on him the parasol (*attab-ga*), which is one of the signs of royalty, and I gave him the rank of 10,000 and sent an order to the officials to grant him a tankhwah jagur.' *Ibid.*, p. 74.

³ Cobindwal. Cf. note 1 in p. 272.

⁴ Arjun, the *Guru*, was the son of Ramdas. With him the hereditary succession of the Sikh *Gurus* began, which continued to the end and added greatly to the wealth and influence of the latter *Gurus*, whom Sikhs grew gradually to look upon as their actual sovereigns. He was the first *Guru* who meddled with politics. He collected the verses of his predecessors, added many of his own and completed the work with extracts from the popular writings of previous *Gurus*. His book was known by the name of *Adi Granth* or *The Book*. Arjun substituted in place of the fluctuating voluntary offerings of his disciples a sort of tithe or tax to be received by collectors deputed by him. They were known as *Masand*, and had to forward the money once a year. Arjun, after some time laid aside the penitent's garb and adopted the state of a grandee and a great trader. He is proved to have been a man of great originality as an organizer, and in his time the Sikh community increased quickly and spread far and wide over the Punjab. 'Arjun became famous among pious devotees and his biographers dwell on the number of saints and holy men who were edified by his instructions. Nor was he unheeded by those on high stations, for he is said to have refused to betroth his son to the daughter of Chundoo Shah, the finance administrator of the Lahore

our Pope. He was supposed to be a holy man and honoured as such. And on account of his high dignity and reputation, the Prince visited him desirous of hearing a good prophecy from him. The *Guru* congratulated him for assuming sovereignty and applied three marks on his forehead. Although the *Guru* was a heathen and the Prince a Mussulman, yet he was glad in putting on the Prince's forehead that pagan sign as a mark of good success in his enterprise, taking the Prince as the son of a pagan mother.¹ The Prince received this sign,² on account of the wide reputation of the sanctity of the *Guru*. The King came to know of this affair. Keeping the Prince as a prisoner, he ordered the *Guru* to be brought before him and imprisoned him also.³

Some pagans begged the King to release him, as he was their saint. At last, it was settled that he should pay a fine of 100,000 cruzados. This was done at the request of a rich pagan, who remained as a

Province; and he further appears to have been sought as a political partisan, and to have offered up prayers for Khuru, the son of Jehangir, when in rebellion and in temporary possession of the Punjab. The *Guru* was summoned to the Emperor's presence and fined and imprisoned at the instigation chiefly, it is said, of Chundoo Shah, whose alliance he had rejected, and who represented him as a man of a dangerous ambition. Arjun died in 1606, and his death is believed to have been hastened by the rigors of his confinement.⁴ Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 50-1. Cf. Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, II, pp. 285-8, III, pp. 92-100, Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, pp. 75-6.

¹ Khuru's mother, Man Bai, was the daughter of Rajah Bhagwan Das. She gave birth in 995 to Prince Khuru. She is a fit of madness, apparently brought on by the behaviour of Khuru and by the misconduct of her brother Madho Singh, committed suicide by swallowing opium. Jehangir's words about her are as follows: 'My first marriage and that at the commencement of my adolescence was with her. After Khuru's birth, I gave her the title of Shah Begum. When she could not endure the bad conduct of her son and brother towards me she became disgusted with life. At a time when I had gone hunting on 24-4-1013 (May 6, 1606), she in her agitation swallowed a quantity of opium and quickly passed away. It was as if she had foreseen this behaviour of her unworthy son.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 50.

² 'He [Arjun] behaved to Khuru in certain special ways, and made on his forehead a finger mark in saffron, which the Indians (Hindus) call *angura*, and is considered propitious.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, p. 72.

³ 'When this came to my ears and I clearly understood his (the *Guru's*) folly, I ordered them to produce him and handed over his horses, dwelling and children to Murtaza Khan, and having confiscated his property, commanded that he should be put to death.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, I, pp. 72-3. Here the Emperor is quite positive in his statement that he sentenced the *Guru* to death, which was no doubt due solely to political reasons. The significant prefix 'when this came to my ears and I clearly understood his folly,' clearly shows that the Emperor was urged on by others.

security for him. He thought that the King might remit him the fine or the saint might pay, or he might borrow that amount, but in all this affair the rich man was disappointed.

He brought whatever 'his Pope' had in his house, including the household furniture, also the clothes of his wife and children; and finding that whatever he had brought was not enough to cover up the fine, since the pagans have no respect to their Pope or their father, besides depriving him of all his money, he tormented the saint with new insults every day. The poor saint even received kicks on his face on many occasions, and was prevented from eating till he had paid more money.

The rich man did not believe that he had no money, though he had absolutely nothing and no one was even willing to give him. Thus having suffered so many injuries, pains, insults, given by the same that were adoring him, the poor *Guru* died.

The surety giver wanted to escape, but was made a prisoner and killed, after all his possessions had been confiscated.

* * *

The following is translated from the second account mentioned in the beginning of this paper :—

'After the imprisonment of the Prince, as previously narrated, his father, the King, takes him in his retinue, whenever he goes from one city to another. The prisoner is brought under custody on an elephant enclosed in a kind of a cage. In this manner he was taken during this journey from Lahore to Agra. On arriving at the spot, where the same Prince fought with the army of his father, to punish his disobedience, the King caused the Prince to be blinded, by means of some liquid like milk.'²

² Jahangir in his *Memoirs* says : 'On the 15th Urdu-Bahisht in the fifth year of my reign, there occurred a strange affair at Patna, which is the seat of Government of the province of Behar. By chance, at that time, an unknown man of the name of Quth belonging to the people of Uch who was a mischievous and seditious fellow, came to the province of Ujjainiyya (Bihar), which is in the neighbourhood of Patna, with the look of a dervish and the clothes of a beggar, and having made acquaintance with men of that part, who were always seditious, represented to them that he was Khurasan, who had escaped from prison and conveyed himself there; saying that if they would accompany and assist him, after the affair had been completed they would be the ministers of his State . . . He showed them discoloured ones the parts about his eyes, where at some time he had produced sores, of which the marks were still apparent, and told them that in the palace

they had fastened cups (*shafers*) on them, and those were the marks.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, 1, pp. 173-4. The above passage is commented upon by the translators as follows: 'Apparently we may infer from this that Jehangir did blind or attempt to blind temporarily at least, his son Khusrû though he says nothing about it. Else why should this impostor pretend that he had marks of the blinding?' Ogilby, who published his work in 1674, also speaks of the temporary blindness of Khusrû, though narrated in another way. The Jesuit account seems more reliable. 'Chosrou was committed, though after an Honourable manner, to the Custody of several Noblemen, his Father likewise causing his Eyes to be sew'd up, that so he might be ware him of his Sight without putting out his Eyes, and at once deprive him of the means to make any further trouble in the Kingdom. But after the expiration of some days, Selim causing his Eyes, to be open'd again, prevented Chosrou from being always blind, yet though he beheld the Light of the Sun again, he enjoy'd not his Liberty, but was kept a close Prisoner for space of Two Years, not being allow'd according to the King's Command to have above one Man to wait upon him.' Ogilby, *Asia, The First Part*, p. 170.

I have found nothing in the Jesuit accounts about Khusrû's death. Hence I am going to end this paper, by quoting Ogilby's words, which once more point out Prince Khusrû, the future Shah Jahan as the murderer of his eldest brother. They run as follows: 'Chosrou by his own subtil Contrivance and Conduict, and by the high esteem of his Father-in-Law Ajai Chan, and his Sister Nurmahai, had so wrought with the King, that the Prisoner Sultan Chosrou was committed into his Custody, but with Commande to use him well and take special care of him. . . No sooner was Chosrou deliver'd up to him, but he immediately went from thence, and kept him two Years in an honourable manner. But at last Chosrou, who had no other design but by his brother's death to secure himself of the Kingdom, practis'd all the time since his coming from his Father's Court, as some affirm, to poison him. But Chosrou having notice thereof, would not eat any of the Meats that was brought to him by them, expressly telling them (waiters) that it was poison'd. The Keepers seeing no way to perform their Master's Commande by Poison, fell all upon him with drawn Swords, and after a long resistance strangled him with a Bowe-string. Some affirm, That Sultan Chosrou kill'd Chosrou in publick with his own hand.' Ogilby, *Asia, The First Part*, pp. 170-171. Cf. Grey, *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, pp. 36-8.

Reviews

'THE OCEAN OF STORY'

[*The Ocean of Story*—Being C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Katha Sarit Sāgara*, now edited with Introduction, fresh explanatory Notes, and terminal Essay, by N. M. Penzer, vol. v, 324 pages, London: Chas. L. Sawyer, Ltd., 1925.]

THIS new volume of Mr. Penzer's great work may be called the *Pañchatantra* volume, as it contains, *inter alia*, Somadeva's interesting extract from the *Pañchatantra* and as this circumstance has caused Mr. Penzer to discuss in his first Appendix the history of the *Pañchatantra* in India and the rest of the world, which discussion has been supplemented by Prof. Edgerton of the University of Pennsylvania, the author of *Pañchatantra reconstructed*, with a comprehensive genealogical table of works derived from the *Pañchatantra*, and by Sir E. Denison Ross with a scholarly foreword on the Persian versions of that Indian Collection of tales. A special instance of the migration of fables is contained in Mr. Penzer's second Appendix on an Indian Replica of the Tale of Rumpelstiltskin, which story seems to have found its way from Egypt to India in Ptolemaic times. The Index is very copious and conveys a good idea of the many interesting subjects treated in this volume of the *Ocean of Story*.

J. JOLLY.

'LIFE OF HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA TUKOJI RAO HOLKAR II OF INDORE'

1835-1886

BY

M. W. BURWAY

Indore

[1925—With a Foreword by Mr. C. B. Luard, pp. 642; xviii and 7.]

To his many books of biographical and other interest, Mr. Burway has added one more that is very readable and at the same time exhaustive. Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar is certainly a very attractive figure in the long chain of the Holkars who have not lacked certainly in both heroic

and eccentric figures. From the great Mulhar Rao, the founder of the line and but a shepherd in origin, through his immortal daughter-in-law Ahalya Bai to the accession of Tukoji Rao Holkar II in 1844, the history of Indore was an alternation of periods of sunshine and storm outbursts. Mr. Burway's Tukoji Rao has a uniformly good tale to tell. After a preliminary survey of the rise of the Holkars which covers nearly 150 pages, Mr. Burway takes us on to the reign of his subject. He touches somewhat delicate ground when he tries to exonerate the conduct of the Holkar from all suspicion of complicity in the acts of the Mutineers. Indeed the Holkar tried hard, but ineffectually, to restrain the impetuosity of some of his troops who attacked the residency and obliged the Political Agent to retire to Lahore; he gave every possible assistance to the authorities, and at considerable personal risk sheltered many Christian and some European refugees in his own palace. Mr. Burway shows us how the official records and private papers of Lord Canning and other actors in the drama of the Mutiny do not contain the slightest evidence by which the undoubted loyalty of the Holkar could be called in question, in spite of the hasty and suspicious denunciation of the Indore Durbar's conduct by Colonel Durand. After the storm of the Mutiny had blown over, the Maharaja was busily engaged in improving the internal administration, himself looking personally after the affairs of the revenue and foreign departments. The Government was regularly divided into departments; the ruler had a great capacity for choosing excellent ministers like Sir T. Madhava Rao and R. Raghunath Rao; he successfully saved the Dhar State from extinction by bringing the prominent attention of the Home Government to it. On the occasion of the great Delhi Assemblage of 1877, he was raised to be a Counsellor of the Empress and admitted to the Order of the Indian Empire. It was he that shrewdly remarked to Sir Hugh Daly, when discussing the episode of the Gwalwar's deposition in 1874-75—'The person for the time being is little; the State with its rights is the point for consideration'—which indicates a very correct point of view. The Maharaja's extensive influence both with the Government in India and with English leaders at home stood the state in good stead for a number of years after his death. He has been very well depicted by writers like Luard, Evans Bell, Talboys Whelan, etc., etc.

The life-story of such a ruler is a fitting addition to the series of biographies of eminent Maratha rulers and statesmen, like Ranaji Rao Sindia, Mahadaji Sindia, Ahalya Bai, Dinkar Rao, etc., already produced by the author who has made use, in his own way, of original state records and correspondence. The book is profusely illustrated and is a standing tribute to the virtues possessed in a large measure by our Indian Rulers.

C. S. S.

TRAVELS IN INDIA

BY

'JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER'

[Trans. from the original French Edition of 1676 by Dr V. Ball—Second edition by W. Crooke—in two volumes, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp xx and 335; xv and 368—with Illustrations and maps. Price, 12s. net.]

In the year 1666, the year of Shah Jahan's death, there were simultaneously in India three Frenchmen, Bernier, Tavernier and Thevenot, of whom any country might be proud, and each one of whom has left ample records of his travels and experiences. Tavernier made six prosperous voyages to the East extending from 1631 to 1668 and finally retired to France wealthy and ennobled. In 1675 he published his first book *Nouvelle Relation du Serrail du Grand Signior*; and in the next year appeared his *magnum opus* 'The Six Voyages' which went through several editions rapidly and was translated into English and German and Dutch and Italian within a few years. Even the learned work of the philosopher Bernier did not meet with such success; while the accounts of Thevenot and Chardin, who were better educated than Tavernier, were relatively insignificant. Tavernier's book excited the jealousy of his fellow-travellers as well as the spite of Voltaire, while Gemelli Careri, a slightly later traveller, was inclined to regard him as 'a dupe rather than a liar.' Tavernier did not reciprocate their hostility and meted out scrupulously fair treatment to him. Dr. Ball speaks of frequent obscurities and contradictions in Tavernier and says he was a plagiarist 'in a certain sense and to a limited degree.' He got his information wherever he could, mainly from fellow-travellers like Bernier and Gabriel de Chillon.

The only subject on which our traveller is invaluable is that of the Indian diamond mines, he gives but little information about the Mughal court and only some sidelights on the condition of the various provinces of the Mughal Empire and of the peasants. Tavernier narrates incidents as they occurred; and 'his narrative, when tested by modern authorities is,' according to Dr. Ball, 'much more accurate than it has often been supposed to be.' When he depends on hearsay information, he was usually inaccurate especially in his geographical knowledge of routes, place-names, etc. But Dr. Ball added that the work of Tavernier was a classic and opined that the task of tracing his obscure routes and place-names was not altogether labour mispent.

Making up for these deficiencies in the text, Dr. Ball has annotated particularly the obscure points in questions of science and topography, in a very exhaustive manner. The varieties of precious stones and pearls, the trade in commodities such as spices, snake-stones, musk, indigo, ivory, etc., the methods and tricks of the native-bankers and of the *Aruffs* (money-changers) are all well described by Tavernier from the point of view of the merchant and of the expert. His account of the Koh-i-Noor Diamond, and of some leading nobles like Shaista Khan and Mir Jumla, and particularly of the European trading powers like the Dutch against whom he brings some ugly charges (*vide* his exposures of the Dutch contained in *The History of the Conduct of the Dutch in Asia*) is very clear and valuable under some limitations. The excellent two-volume edition of Dr. Ball has now been supplemented by Dr. Crooke with further information on questions of archaeology, historical events and personages and the social and religious life of the people. Dr. Ball himself had prepared additional notes for an intended revision; and these also have been made use of by Dr. Crooke. The main value of both these English editions, apart from the notes, is in the careful translation of the French text originally published in 1676. The preface of Dr. Ball; a life of Tavernier based on an eminently just, but not partial, estimate of him by Charles Joret; and an introduction to the present edition by Dr. Crooke, with additional notes on Tavernier's history and geography by H. A. Rose and with an extensive bibliography of the traveller's works prepared by Dr. Ball—these enhance the value of the edition, and make up for the deficiencies between the commercial traveller and his more philoso-

phic contemporaries, showing that even the former has his own special value. The editors have shown that to Tavernier also may be applied the remark which Thevenot's translator made about his subject :— 'An honest man never lived in the world.'

C. S. S.

'THE ARAB CIVILIZATION'

BY

S. KHUDA BAKSH

[Translated from the German of Joseph Hell, by S. Khuda Baksh—published by W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., Cambridge Price 9s 6d net. pp xvii and 128]

THE Translator who has brought out several works on Islamic history and culture, like *the Orient under the Caliphs* (Calcutta, 1920) *History of the Islamic Peoples* (Calcutta, 1914) and *Politics in Islam* (1920) has now attempted to give to the students a translation of Prof. Hell's monograph—*Die Kultur der Araber* which is, according to him 'at once a summing up and a revaluation of Arab civilisation.' Prof. Hell has used up all available materials and told the history of Arab civilisation in short compass with 'wide-mindedness, sympathy, clearness of vision' and also simplicity of narrative and style. The Translator intends that this book may well serve as an introduction to the study of more learned authors on the same subject like Arnold, Becker, Alfred von Kremer, Goldsieber and Lane-Poole.

Dr Hell describes the state of Arabia prior to the rise of Islam giving a picture of the nomad life of the Arab tribes, of the peculiarities of the land and of the advent of the Abyssinians and their rule and also of such attainments in poetry, eloquence and the arts as they had reached. The next chapter on Mohamed contains nothing remarkably new. But the Translator expresses his disagreement with the author (p. XI note) regarding the point that the Prophet who left Mekka was a very different man from the chief of a community who entered Medina; and he holds that the only difference was that the Prophets' work was considerably extended in Medina to problems which could not have arisen in Mekka. Nor does Mr. Khuda Baksh support the view that after Badr love of power and vengeance were the cardinal points in the Prophet's programme. He would cite this

sympathetic writers, Dr. Krehl and Dr. Arnold to support his point of view. The succeeding chapters include a brief survey of Muslim conquests in which the real aim was not so much the diffusion of Islam as the seizure of wealth of the neighbouring states by the dominant Arab race, while Omar pursued a deliberate policy to set up the ascendancy of Arabism and to remove the cultural disparity between them and the other races. The rise and fall of the Omayyads, and the splendid period of Abbassid rule are next set forth; and these changes in the line of the Caliphate are due essentially to the conflict between the Islamic and the Arabic outlook—the bulk of the Arabs holding that there could be no other title to the Caliphate than kinship with the Prophet. Abbassid learning largely influenced by Persian scholars and animated ancient Persian chivalry and ideas, formed the golden age of Islamic culture—while a portion of it, such as jurisprudence, medicine, and natural science had largely a Hellenistic basis. Dr. Hall describes the influence of Arab psychology upon Islamic culture, while in jurisprudence in particular the western borrowings of *Alm Hanifa* may be noted. The chapters on Bagdad and on Muslim rule in North Africa and Spain are not the least interesting portions of the book which tries to teach the truth that Islamic civilisation is world-embracing in its range, eclectic in its principles, 'developing the sense of nationality and yet preserving the ineffable brotherhood of the faith.' The appended bibliography is exhaustive, but omits strangely enough writers like Muir.

C. S. S.

**'ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HISTORY,
VOL. IV. SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF BRITISH
INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY'**

BY

DR. SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN

[Oxford University Press, 1925 pp. ix and 306.]

THE book under review aims at supplying a critical analysis of essential data for the study of the seventeenth century British India; and it tries to bring within one compass accounts of the materials lying scattered in the various record offices in England, like the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Bodleian, Privy

Council Registers, the India Office, the Archbishopal Library at the Lambeth Palace and the All Souls' College Library at Oxford. The last section deals with the relevant records preserved in India. Each record examined is analysed with regard to its contents, its date and its significance and value. The collection in the British Museum is by far the most valuable including such items as the Journal of John Jourdain (recently edited by William Foster for the Hakluyt Society) and the originals of the correspondence of Factors in the East with the Company, some of which have been included by Mr. Foster in his 'Letters received by the E. I. Company from its servants in the East' and others abstracted in his *English Factories* series. The earlier correspondence addressed from abroad to the company is exceedingly scanty, not more than fourteen documents of dates prior to 1610 having been handed down to the present times in the P. C. volumes of the India Office, according to the report of Sir George Birdwood besides gaps in the Court Minute Books and in the Marine Records. The records connected with the case of Skinner vs. the East India Company (1687-89) have been noted; while the manuscripts of John Marshall who was the first European probably to study the religion and literature of the Hindus, even before Anquetil du Perron, have been exhaustively analysed.

Dr. Khan shows how many facts concerning the early history of the East Indies are contained in the general series of Domestic State Papers and in the State Papers, Foreign, of the Public Record Office; his notes on the selected records are based mostly upon official lists, calendars and reports and other printed authorities, though also supplemented by direct examination of certain documents. The papers calendared by W. Noel Sainsbury and Miss Sainsbury and also by W. Foster contain to a large extent documents from the Public Record Office. Among the relevant MS records in the Bodleian may be noted the *Travels of Peter Mundy*, a manuscript of the highest value, which has been edited by Sir Richard Temple for the Hakluyt Society; some letters from the masterful Governor of the Company, Sir Josiah Child; and the diary of Sir William Norris (1699-1700) now being dealt with by Mr. Haribara Das. The Registers of the Privy Council proceedings, with the exception of those for the years 1604-12 which have been destroyed by fire, have been carefully abstracted and contain matters of varying interest.

The notes given with reference to the records at the India Office relate mainly to 'documents not hitherto analysed or calendared or to series not already in process of publication, and are derived from direct examination of originals' in the Marine, Factory and General Records Sections. Particulars of the journals of the early voyages are given, while all notes of any historical interest have been reproduced in full. The Factory Records were originally roughly calendared by Sir George Birdwood and by F. C. Danvers, both letters received by the Company and its despatches to its settlements. Both the sections are in course of publication either *in extenso* or *in extract*. These are merely noted by the author.

The General Records section is elaborately indexed, while references to documents of Indian interest found in the Guildhall and Lambeth Libraries make us wonder whether there may not be more places of likely interest similar to these. The last section deals with the records in the various Indian Record Offices—the Madras Despatches to England and the Consultation Books being specially prominent. The book is intended to impress on the student as well as the writer, the necessity of the Archive Method, of completely sifting all the available original data, before accounts are made and conclusions drawn, and this purpose the book eminently fulfils.

C. S. S.

'DRAVIDIAN INDIA,' VOL. I

BY

T. R. SESHU IYENGAR, MADRAS

(Price, Rs. 4)

THIS little book which is described in the foreward to this work as a 'valuable introduction . . . to Dravidian culture and its place in the Hindu civilisation,' consists of four chapters of varying value. These deal respectively with (1) The Indo-Aryan Epic and South India, (2) Dravidian Origins, (3) Dravidian Glories, (4) and Ancient South Indian Polity.

Realised as is the conception of writing a much-needed work like this we regret to find that a great deal of its value is lost by a

series of defects in the treatment of the subject. One of these is the failure on the part of the author to discriminate between the relative value of authorities which range from Dr. Tagore on the one side to the obscure observations in the daily press. Another defect of this work is the display of excessive and unjustifiable zeal towards everything Dravidian in the course of the work. It is apparently this weakness that prevents the author from taking a fair and dispassionate view of the relative value of Dravidian and Aryan cultures. This displays itself in various parts of the work, a prominent instance of which may be cited. On page 119 the author observes without any evidence that the influence of the Dravidians on the culture of India has been ignored because the literature which records the development of Hindu religion in India was the work of a hostile priesthood whose only object was to magnify its own pretensions and denry everything Dravidian. It is again the same spirit which makes him justify even savage ferocity of the early Tamils in warfare (page 254).

Without entering into a detailed analysis of the work it would be sufficient to point out in the interests of historical research a few, of the many overstatements, inconsistencies and unsound theories and conclusions which mar this little book. On page 96 the author seems to support the highly doubtful theories of Dravidian origin of Varuna and Rudra, and quotes with approval the views of Dr. Elster that Kali, Siva, and Vishnu are Dravidian deities. It will however be patent to all that it is too premature in the present state of research to uphold the correctness of these views. Again on page 129 the author quotes the same authority that the caste system was Dravidian in origin and that the Dravidian magicians became the ancestors of the Brahmins. It would be interesting to know the reasons for which the author considers this baseless view of the origin of the caste system as very profoundly interesting, in view of the fact that the absurdity of this theory had been sufficiently exposed at the time of the publication of Dr. Elster's *Dravidian Origin of Indian Culture* a couple of years ago.

A prominent instance of self contradiction occurs towards the closing portion of the first volume which deals with the attitude of the Tamils in warfare towards the non-combatants and the vanquished. On page 251 the author observes 'that the invader (the Tamil king) was equally humane to the aged, the infirm, the women and the Strangers.'

illustrating this however the author cites the instance of Karikala and observes on page 253, rather curiously, that the ancients (Tamil kings) were merciless to the vanquished and the inhabitants of the invaded country would flee on every side, and that the country would be ravaged with fire, etc.

His views on the *Kural*, its date, character and contents do not appear to be quite sound. On page 71 he observes that it is original in design and execution, and almost independent of Sanskrit. Again on page 203 he says that Valluvar's religion is the religion of the Dravidians. The references to Aryan deities such as Brahma, Lakshmi, and Vishnu, as well as the orthodox view that the author of the *Kural* was a Jain and that the work is Jain in conception contradict this latter assertion. As regards the former view of the author, recent research has shown that Sanskrit influences especially of the *Dharmaśāstras* and *Arthashastras* including Kantalya's monumental work on politics are clearly traceable in the *Kural*. In view of this fact it is difficult to uphold the view that this work is free from Sanskrit influence of any kind. On page 211 the author in dealing with the devotional element in classical Tamil poetry quotes the substance and almost the very words of a paragraph found in one of the chapters of Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar's *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*. There is however no acknowledgment anywhere in this page or in the previous pages to indicate where the views are taken from and the author contents himself with enclosing two half sentences within quotation marks.

The work strikes one as a hastily written compilation although the author claims in the introduction that he has been engaged at it during the last twelve years. The minor defects of the work include the want of diacritical marks for proper names now considered as indispensable to publications of this kind. Even the spelling adopted by the author for the names of early Tamil and Sanskrit writers and their works is defective and not uniform. We have expressions like the following: page 89, *Pathirrupathu*, *Ashvathama* (page 100), *Kalike-hai* (page 200), where we would write *Padirrupathin*, etc. An instance of carelessness in proof correction is furnished in the following:—*Udayakumaran*, (page 93), *Kalpasutra* (page 162). The absence of an index, an indispensable adjunct to all critical works of this kind, makes the work still less valuable.

In spite of these and other defects this little book will have its own use to the public and we hope that when a second edition is contemplated or the second volume is published the above defects will be rectified and the book made really useful.

'SIMHAVISHNU.'

'ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT'

BY

PROF. BINOV KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

[Published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras. Price, Rs. 9.]

ANY study of the science of economics would be incomplete if the various problems and side-issues involved therein are not interpreted in their geographical and historical perspective. Mere examination of the theory would not go a long way in helping us to determine the several complex problems on an objective basis as it were. It is for the province of applied economics to indicate to us in a clear light the different aspects of a crucial economic question. The Great War of Europe has not unnaturally affected the economic and industrial conditions of the whole world. Especially in the industrial field capital held sway and had so far Labour under its thumb. Labour which was showing manifestly signs of discontent now and then, has begun to assert its rights. Healthy regulations touching the labouring classes in general have been put forward and adopted rapidly. A new and brighter outlook for technical education has been inaugurated in most of the civilised states in consonance with the prevailing social, economic and industrial conditions of the respective states.

These and other problems of moment are presented to us in a systematic whole in this book by a competent writer who can speak with authority on these subjects. Prof. Sarkar had the rare advantage of getting first hand information from the several economic and industrial institutions of practically every country in Europe, which he visited recently. A serious student of economics and politics as he is, he was able to collect a mine of information at once useful and instructive.

The book under review contains small chapters, forty-six in number, occupying in all 492 pages. In these pages one finds strong evidence of earnest study and strenuous labour. The data furnished

the figures, charts and tables presented, and the comparative study of several states in their geographical and historical perspectives, certainly enhance the value of a work of this kind. But one finds disappointment in the arrangement both of chapters and of facts in them. Though the subjects are treated in a systematic manner, still there is no connected whole. And the author himself is alive to this defect of an otherwise useful book. He characterizes the sub-title of the work as 'snapshots of world-movements in commerce, economic legislation, industrialism and technical education.' We regret to find fault with this method of treatment. It would have been far better if the author had examined country by country bringing into one view all problems connected with it; or subject by subject under the mainheads of agriculture, technical education, etc., examining under these respective heads the actual state of affairs obtaining at present comparatively and historically. But for this drawback the work is replete with facts and figures which would facilitate the work of the laborious student of applied economics.

Prof. Sarkar's book is still more valuable because he has given a large space in the consideration of the vital economic problems affecting India at present. Indian industrialism is still a thing of the future. We are still in a stage of transition with all the endeavours on the part of the state as well as private individuals. It would be decades before we cross successfully this bridge of transition, and could speak with pride of an Industrial India. In our lines of development we must profit by the experience of other states and countries. If a study of history could be of any real service, it must be in this direction. But yet we could not build up the fabric of our economic and industrial institutions on purely Western models. Here then we could not afford to neglect the economic history of ancient Hindu India. A study of our past institutions would tend to solve some of the knotty problems which face seriously enough professors of economics to-day. The growth and development of institutions, social, economic or political, must be adapted to the culture and genius of the race as portrayed in their history. In discussing an economic scheme for young India, the author remarks that it is industrialism that is the cure for all our poverty, and that the role of foreign capital towards this end is a great necessity. We are afraid that mere students of Indian economics may not agree with our author's views in this particular. There is one other statement among others of Prof. Sarkar

with which one will pause a little before he accepts the position as tenable. He says that our agriculture is 'overcrowded,' and continues that 'not "back to land" but "away from land" is to be the motto for, say, one generation' Let alone students of economics, even laymen we presume, could not see eye to eye with Prof. Sarker in this respect. With the unemployment of even our educated young men ever on the increase there would be no economic salvation for us if 'back to the land' is not urged and put into actual practice. There are great possibilities of improving our land and agricultural methods. And there is not the least doubt that for some generations to come, these would afford a stable and more secure employment to a large number of our unemployed.

We congratulate the publishers for their enterprising spirit to publish books of great value like the one under review. We agree with them that the bibliography at the beginning and the index at the end will be of great utility. The printing and get up are excellent.

V. R. R.

'THE MUSIC OF INDIA'

BY

ATTIA BEGUM FEYZ-RAHAMIN.

[Lusac & Co, London.]

INDIAN music has begun to figure prominently in the general revivalist movements of modern India, and attempts are made all through the country for recovering it from the neglect into which it had fallen owing to the changing circumstances of the last century and a half in India. Signs of a revived interest in Indian music are visible all round, and show themselves in many ways. As in various other matters, there have been meetings and conferences for the purpose of reviving and promoting the study of Indian music. It is in response to a demand somewhat similar that the Third Oriental Conference in Madras arranged for a musical demonstration of Hindu music in particular, which still continues to be cultivated in South India in the old style, not unimpaired, but yet unobscured by other influences that have had their sway in the north. The organisers as well as the audience were agreeably disappointed at the display, which showed that the art still exists in a living form to a far higher degree than was

ordinarily anticipated. Experts in Indian music have been making their own efforts, and in the words of the Begum 'our never-tiring efforts have proved somewhat successful, in the past five or six years, pointing to the dawn in the musical world of India.' There have been three Conferences of importance for the purpose, and efforts have been many to make the music of India understood by the outside world. There have even been two or three books on the subject, which expounded Indian music in European notation by Europeans and Indians alike, and the work under review is the latest of such efforts.

The work attempts to treat Indian music in a systematic style. The talented authoress treats the subject by a survey of works bearing on it and the lives of the practical exponents of the art; she then proceeds to a brief survey of the history of the subject. She then proceeds, in the following chapters, to treat of the seven divisions of music, such as *swara* or tones, *tala*, time and rhythm, *raga* or tunes and melodies, *udya*, musical instruments, *nyaya*, dance to the accompaniment of music, *dhawa*, or the significance of music as exhibited by action, and *arika*, or exposition or modes. All these subjects are treated with an understanding and simplicity making the somewhat abstruse subject comprehensive even to the ordinary understanding. The book gives, however, but a partial treatment, as for obvious reasons the talented lady has not been able to give adequate treatment to the music of South India, which forms quite a separate department of Indian music, and has to be cultivated altogether differently from the methods of the other schools. 'The leading motive,' according to the authoress, 'of Indian music is an expression of the feelings and emotions in a series of moods; this being woven with the legends and traditions of the poetic fancies and reveries of the human soul and spirit of the country.' These she tries to render, as far as may be, in words assisted by a number of illustrative blocks, which take one farther than mere exposition can.

The work is very well got up, and will certainly prove a very useful introduction to the music of India. It has an interesting chapter upon the various exponents of music and anecdotes connected with them. It has further the advantage of a valuable appendix upon the comparison of Indian music with Indian astrology explained by means of a table noting the astrological significance of Indian music. The book is ~~of~~ ^{is} of great value to those interested in Indian music.

'INDIA'

BY

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

[Kismet Press, Ltd., London.]

THIS, the latest work of the accepted authority on Indian affairs, is one of a series entitled *The Modern World* each work of which undertakes to make a survey of present historical forces. India like every other country in the world has come out of the crucible of the Great War in a condition anything but settled in respect of the various forces which go to the make up of a modern community. Forces external and internal are in a great struggle, finally to settle down in an equilibrium more or less stable. But while the struggle is keen, the equilibrium and its comparative stability are alike as yet in the distant prospect. The survey of historical forces in a society in that condition and that a vast conglomeration of peoples like that of India is not a task that one would enter into with any great hope of achieving success. Sir Valentine Chirol has great qualifications for essaying the task, complicated as it is and difficult beyond power of an ordinary man. The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher claims for the work that 'in this survey, all the factors essential to the comprehension of modern India are made to stand out in their true perspective.' Sir Valentine Chirol has attempted it in the nineteen chapters of the book, we should rather say eighteen, leaving the nineteenth as the concluding remarks; he passes in rapid review various of those vital factors which have gone into the make up of modern India, laying more stress on modern events, and comparatively less on the older, very naturally for a man of his position. He has, on the whole, achieved his task with considerable success. Notwithstanding the easily visible attempt at impartiality and holding the balance even, he cannot but take a partisan view sometimes, and appears now and again as an apologist of the administration and an antagonist of forces that seem to be arrayed against the British Raj. On many burning questions his views may be accepted as impartial, such as the South African question, for instance, and the attitude of the British administration towards the Reformers. As much cannot be said in regard to his understanding of the Revivalist Movement in the country, which strikes him too readily as anti-British in character, and hostile, therefore, to Western civilisation.

This comes out in bold relief where Sir Valentine has to deal with

the modern movements which have for their object the understanding of the country, its past history and its present culture and civilisation. While, thanks to the influence of a new civilisation, somewhat alien in spirit and even in aim, the intelligentsia of the country have their attention turned forcibly towards studying their own history with a view to a reasoned understanding of the present developments would be but natural, it is equally natural that people belonging to an ancient civilisation who get for the first time a more or less clear view of it after the lapse of a few centuries of clouding, take a natural pride in it, and seem to be wanting in the docility, which perhaps is too often demanded by the teacher from the taught. That a man of Sir Valentine's eminence and experience of affairs should expect that in an ancient country like India the implanting of Western education and civilisation would readily produce a society which is but a flimsy copy of the society of the West is certainly to expect too much in it. Even those pioneers of the introduction of these Western elements of civilisation did not expect it from the position of lesser advantage that they occupied in respect of their understanding of the soil upon which they sowed their seeds. That Western education and Western methods of criticism should turn the attention of educated Indians to an investigation and understanding of their own culture ought to be regarded as but a natural consequence of that education. When educated Indians turn their attention to the study of their past, there would naturally be a deeper understanding and a wider comprehension of the more ancient civilisation. As a consequence, educated Indians would perhaps show more self-respect, perhaps even self-consciousness, at which no reasonable outsider need take offence. The result would have to be a struggle to begin with between the ancient ideals of India and the new ideals of the West, and the result of this struggle will have to be inevitably something very different from that which is Western civilisation and that which was ancient Indian civilisation. A reversion to the past is impossible, as Sir Valentine readily admits. A copy of the West is equally impossible, he does not seem ready to admit. There is the crux. Throughout the book one sees an undercurrent of a feeling of disappointment that the seeds of Western education and Western civilisation that have been sown with such considerable pains, do not seem to show a luxuriant crop of imitation of the West. The glamour of the new civilisation had exercised its

influence at the beginning and it has exhausted itself almost nearly, and what is to be looked for is a new synthesis of the ancient civilisation of the East, and, it may be, the economic civilisation of the West. To expect anything else is to read history wrong.

Some of the manifestations of the society of present-day India are nothing more than one phase or another of this struggle which is inevitable. Even democratized representative institutions of Government may have to undergo a certain amount of modification when they get to be applied to the conditions of India, historical and contemporary. There is hardly enough allowance made for this throughout this volume of survey of historical forces struggling in present-day India. Reforms have been introduced five years ago, and the reforms have worked, they cannot have worked to the satisfaction of all concerned. It is an experimental measure of democratising the administration, and even as an experiment, they have had to make concessions to Indian conditions, and one of the most important, and perhaps not the most healthy from the point of view of the consequences, is the undemocratic principle of communal representation. If an experiment, launched under very peculiar circumstances, has not had a smooth working, it would be difficult to allot the blame to this or that or a third party. It is in the very nature of the thing itself, and the wiser course would be for those responsible not to waste time and energy in allotting blame, but to use both efficiently in an honest attempt to remove that which is detrimental to progress in the scheme that has been adopted.

While we welcome the book as an honest attempt to picture the struggling India of the present-day in all its multitudinous phases, we should have very much wished that Sir Valentine had been somewhat less partisan in certain chapters. He has shown comparatively small acquaintance with the Hindu India of old, as in fact his knowledge of Hindu civilisation is anything but profound. He has, on the whole, called up a picture which may be flattering to the pride of the well-meaning Englishmen, well-affected towards the future of India. But he could not be credited with having produced an illuminating book for the serious student of Indian History in India itself. While it may serve a very valuable purpose to the general reader, both Indian and European, the serious student of Indian History is perhaps doomed to some slight disappointment.

'INDO-SUMERIAN SEALS DECIPHERED'

BY

LT.-COL. L. A. WADDELL

[Lusac & Co., London]

THE archaeological discoveries made recently in the Indus Valley give to the study of assyriology in its more ancient reaches, a nearer interest to India and to those interested in its history and civilisation. The finds, monumental and other, are of a character to justify inferences of an anterior civilisation in the Indus Valley, prior, it may be long prior, to the coming of the Aryans in that particular region. As far as assyriologists have turned their attention to these finds, they seem to take us back to the beginning of the third millennium, if not somewhat earlier, for the period of existence of this civilisation. Whether it is native to the Indus Valley, or an intruder from elsewhere is matter that may have to remain open for yet a while, particularly in the light of the fact that the Sumerian civilisation of Mesopotamia has for some time been considered an intruding civilisation there. The question awaits careful investigation and patient study. Col. Waddell, the Tibetan scholar, has applied himself to the task with great enthusiasm and has been at pains, through years of study, to have arrived at certain very definite conclusions in regard to the matter. The result of his own study of this particular question is embodied in two books already published with the promise of a more elaborate third in the very near future. The first book, the *Phœnician Origin of the Britons, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons*, has already been reviewed in the *Indian Antiquary*, with a fulness which it deserves, by Sir Richard Temple. The conclusions to which that work leads are, in brief, that the Britons and all other so-called Aryan races of the West have had their origin in Phœnicia, Phœnicians themselves being Aryans and not Semites. The work under review continues that investigation and comes to an equally definite conclusion that the region of Phœnicia and Syria was the cradle-land of the Aryan race, and a branch of that race emigrating therefrom into India is the Indo-Aryan and Iranian. Waddell claims that the results that he arrived at in the first work of his are 'now dramatically confirmed.' The results are undoubtedly dramatic in character, but as to confirmation we may take leave to wait a little.

The whole argument of the book lies in this;—that the Panch in the Panchala are an enterprising and commercial people; the word is radically the same as Panchi (Phœnicians), and therefore Panchalas of Indian literature and the Phœnicians of the West are of the same race. He takes it that the Amorite, Goth and Scyth are synonyms for Aryan and Phœnician. For proof of this thesis that the Indian Epic and Vedic list of kings are exactly the same as the list of early Sumerian and early Babylonian inscriptions, he starts with the position that 'a great proportion of the names of Sumerian and Babylonian kings, gods and places as restored by assyriologists is largely and often wholly fictitious.' Having regard to the progress of assyriological studies and the stage reached by assyriologists in the course of their study, it is not impossible that there are errors even in some number. But a careful study of the restorations made by the author in the work, does not give a layman the impression that Col. Waddell's restorations are any nearer correct. One cannot afford to be dogmatic on a subject like that at present. The question requires careful and patient study by assyriologists, who may take full advantage of the suggestion in the work to consider if anything like the principle of restoration adopted here would be possible. The restoration suggested in the tables seem to us so radically different that we are in some doubt whether we would be justified in taking assyriologists as a whole to be so entirely wrong. Anyhow it would be safer to suspend judgment and to await fuller investigation by assyriologists themselves.

In regard to the Indian equations suggested by Col. Waddell, the locations of the various dynasties would seem not to be in complete agreement with the results of Vedic studies alone. That is yet another of the basal points of this kind of research. The weakest point as it seems to us, in the whole of the book, is the philological part of it. While several words equated seem to be near enough in point of sound as they are presented to us in the work, there are some which indicate clearly how dangerous it would be to proceed further on methods adopted by the author. The work presents, however, the investigations of a scholar not unaccustomed to this kind of work, and embodies results of great labour and much thought. The work ought certainly to stimulate enquiry, which is bound to result in a great advance in the study both of assyriology and of the new Indian discoveries.

'RIG VEDIC CULTURE'

BY

A. C. DAS, M.A., PH.D.

[Cambray & Co., Calcutta and Madras]

THIS work is really a continuation of the author's study of *Rig Vedic India* published by the Calcutta University some years since. The work should have constituted the second part of *Rig Vedic India*, but some years having elapsed between the publication of the first one and the second, and since this constitutes by itself a self-contained work more or less, the author published it as a separate work. The work falls into two parts naturally, one of which concerns itself with that much contested subject, the chronology of the Rig Veda. The *Rig Vedic India* of the author contains his chronological estimates based on what he thought was the trend of geological evidences, which took the Rig Vedic culture to a very considerable antiquity. The examination of that subject again in this work concerns itself merely with meeting various criticisms of the original thesis, and drawing some little additional support for it from H. G. Wells's publication, the *Outlines of History*. The claim of this thesis is that the whole of the culture, layer by layer, received its development in the region called Sapta Sindu, somewhat more widely defined to take into it North-Western India, Afghanistan and Bactria, cut off from the rest of India itself by almost an impassable sea, or rather two seas. The author revised the geological side and put down the beginnings of Rig Vedic culture somewhere about twenty or twenty-five thousands B.C.—a beginning which we may say lies beyond any calculable estimate of time with the means at our disposal. The fact that the estimates of Vedic antiquity could vary from twenty-five thousand B.C., to five hundred B.C., is clear evidence of the uncertainties attending this investigation.

While on that subject, it would be well to draw attention to a course of two lectures delivered in the School of Oriental Studies, London, by Prof. Jari Charpentier of Upsala. Prof. Charpentier attacks the problem from the philological and linguistic sides and arrives at Central Asia as the home of the Indo-European, carrying back the ethnical movement towards migration to a date about the middle of the third millennium B.C. He ascribes

the movement to same causes that brought about the later ethnic movements of Central Asia, and arguing from that historical parallel towards the movement in various directions, points out the half-way houses where the different branches may have tarried for longer or shorter periods of time. On the whole his hypothesis seems to offer very much more of a satisfactory explanation of the details of the problem than other theories in the field, all of which he examines carefully. Perhaps that is as far as we can go in these Vedic investigations at present, and an attempt to trace the origin of the Rig Vedic culture by going back to its very roots would be matter which can hardly lead to any precise conclusions. Mr. Das, however, makes an attempt with a great deal of learning, and does not lay claim to having settled the question where settlement is obviously an impossible feat, as he admits.

The rest of the second part have reference to the life and the cultural aspects of Aryan society. He collects together a vast mass of *disjecta membra* of information scattered through the Rig Veda itself, and sorts them out and arranges them in about ten chapters full of useful information. He begins with the life of the Aryan in village communities, and carries us through chapters on various arts and industries of the people to their state organisation, and ultimately to their religious conceptions, winding up the whole with a couple of chapters on Vedic sacrifices and Rig Vedic poetry. To the student of history the book is of great value, as it brings in a more assorted form the details of Vedic culture, much of which can be found in the monumental works of Maxmüller and Keith's *Vedic India* and Macdonell's other works, such as *Vedic Mythology*. We congratulate Mr. Das on the successful completion of his labour on which he had been engaged for many years and look forward to his revised edition of *Rig Vedic India* with expectancy.

Obituary

THE LATE MR. B. VENKOBÄ RAO

As we go to press, I regret very much to hear of the sudden and unexpected death of Mr. B. Venkoba Rao, who sent copy of his work on the History of Śrī Vyāsa Yōgi, one of the pontiffs, and a much venerated and influential one, in the days of the empire of Vijayanagar, which is based upon a historical *biography* poet Sōmānatha, and the work is given to us with an introduction running to 164 pages, the text itself occupying only 84 pages. We shall make a detailed review of the work in the next number of the journal. This is merely to record our very great regret that he should be snatched away in the prime of life, full of promise even in this comparatively foreign field as this effort on the part of a busy Divisional Officer of the Mysore Service, shows.

Books Received for Review in the 'Journal of Indian History'

- 'History of Historical Problems.' By Earnest Scott.
- 'The Doctrine of Buddha.' By George Grimm.
- 'The Life of Vyasa-raja.' By Venkoba Rao.
- 'Journal of Department of Letters,' Calcutta University, Vol. XIII.
- 'A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy.' By R. D. Ranade.

- 'History of Mediaeval Hindu India.' By C. V. Valdyä.
- 'History of Burma.' By G. E. Harvey.
- 'India and the Western World.' Rawlinson.
- 'Short History of India,' Part 2. By Garret and Kohli.
- 'Short History of India,' Part 3. By Rushbrook Williams.
- 'Rasa Mala,' 2 Vols. By H. G. Rawlinson.

The Editor regrets very much that reviews on these works could not be ready in time for publication in this issue of the journal.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary

May 1926—

SYLVAIN LEVI: 'Paloura—Dantapura.' This is an English translation by S. M. Edwards of Sylvain Levi's Notes Indiennes in Tome CCVI of *Journal Asiatique* identifying the place called Paloura by Ptolemy with the City of Dantapura.

June 1926—

JOUVRAU DUBREUIL: 'Vyagra, the Uchchakalpa.' New interpretation is offered here by Prof. Dubreuil on the inscription discovered in 1919 and published in *EA. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 12. It is suggested that Prithivisena of this inscription was the Prithivisena the Vakataka reigning in Bundelkand in A. D. 475 and that Uchchakalpa was his vassal.

S. M. EDWARDS: 'Sideights on Deccon Village Life in the Eighteenth Century.' The extracts published here are taken from the diary of the Raja of Satara and throw considerable light on the political administrative and social condition of the period to which they relate.

R. C. TEMPLE: 'To the East of Samstata.' This paper presents the points of view of L. Finot and Bidyabind regarding the countries visited by the Chinese traveller Y. Chwang. Tables of identifications indicating the direction pursued are added.

H. G. RAWLINSON: 'The Mutiny at Indore.' These are selected from unpublished Indore Records and throw light on one of the obscure episodes of the Mutiny of 1857, by Prof. W. Paul of Jabulpur.

July 1926—

AUROUMEAU, M. L.: 'The Name of Cochln China.' This is devoted to a discussion of historical, geographical and linguistic reasons for deriving the name of Cochln-China through the Portuguese Quachyn-China from the phrase of a similar nature in vogue in the sixteenth century indicating the Annamite kingdom.

August 1936—

- V. S. BAKHLR: 'The Capital of Nahapana.' This is an attempt to prove that the capital of Nahapana was situated at Junner, and that the Minnagar mentioned by the author of the Periplus is the Omeragora of Ptolemy and the modern Junner.
- SYLVAIN LEVI: 'Pithunda, Pithuda and Pithundra.' This is an English translation from *Notes Indiennes* on the subject by S. M. Edwards.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute

VOLUME VIII, PART I

- C. R. DEVADHAR: 'The Plays ascribed to Bhāsa: their Authenticity and Merits.' Concludes after discussion that the writer of these dramas now passing under the name of Bhāsa is some obscure Southern poet of about the seventh century A. D.
- D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'Parasika Dominion in Ancient India.'
- D. M. ROY: 'The Culture of Mathematics among the Jains of S. India in the Ninth Century.'

Indian Historical Quarterly

July 1936—

- P. C. BASU: 'Art and Philosophy in Hindu Temple Building.'
- NUNDOLAL DEY: 'Rasatala or the Underworld.' Continues previous matter on the subject.
- L. FINOT: 'Indo-China in the Records of the Chinese Pilgrims.'
- A. GHOSH: 'A Comparative Survey of Indian Painting.'
- B. K. SARKAR: 'Bukra's Economics in Hindu Science.'

Journal of the Department of Letters

CALCUTTA, VOLUME XIII

- HEMCHANDRA RAY: 'Economic Policy and functions of the Kautilyan State.'

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

VOLUME XII, PART I

- V. H. JACKSON: 'Notes on the Barabar Hills.'
- BAKERJI-SASTRI: 'The Ajivakas.' The relation between the Ajivakas, Buddhists, the Jains and Brahmins of early times is discussed here.
- S. GANGULY: 'Notes on Aryabhata.'

S. C. ROY : 'The Asura.'

P. ACHARYA : 'The Bhanja Kings of Orissa.' Discusses the chronology and position of the Bhanja kings.

Epigraphic India

VOLUME XVIII, PART IV

H. KRISHNA SASTRI : 'The Vayalur Pillar Inscription of Rajasimha II' The text of the inscription is given with English translation and notes on Pallava chronology. It is suggested that the engraving of this record probably took place on the occasion of the accession of Rajasimha. The reference to *Dvipalaksika* in the last line is taken as hinting the Laccadive Islands known as Lakshadvipa. (Note on p. 152)

HIRANANDA SASTRI : 'Brahmi Inscription on a Wooden Pillar from Kirari.'

DAYARAM SAKNI : 'Three Brahmi Inscriptions from Kosam.'

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO AND K. AMRITA RAO : 'Two Copper Plates of Krishnadeva Raya, Saka 1486 and 1450.'

L. D. BARNETT : 'Inscriptions at Hull'

J.R.A.S., London

July 1926—

W. H. MORELAND : 'Sher Shah's Revenue System.'

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society . N.S.

VOLUME II, No. 1

J. J. MODI . In a paper on the inscribed Cross with Pahlavi inscription recently discovered at Kadamattam in Travancore State. J. J. Modi examines the script of the inscription and assigns it to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. He concludes that the Crosses might be the offerings of some of the Christians who had come to the shores of India from Persia in the seventh and the eighth centuries owing to the Arab persecutions.

S. H. HODIVALA : 'The Unpublished Coins of the Gujrat Sultanat.'

A. L. COVERSTON : 'The Educational Policy of Mountstuart Elphinstone.'

M. WINTERNITZ : 'The Serpent Sacrifice mentioned in Mahabharata. This is a translation in English from the original German work of M. Winternitz. *Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Harwall* by N. B. Dgflner.

Journal of the American Oriental Society

VOLUME XLVI, No. 2

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY: 'The Indian Origin of Buddha Image.'

In this paper the author gathers together a number of quotations chiefly from Western scholars' writings committing themselves more or less to the theory of Indian origin of Buddha image. The author's view is that the Buddha image is of Indian Origin the Gandhara and the Mathura types being created locally about the same time in response to a necessity created by an internal development of Buddhism in both the areas.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

VOLUME XXI, 1925, No. 1

H. BRUCE HANNAH: 'Indian Origins.'

N. B. SANYAL: 'The Predecessors of the Gahadavalas of Kanauj.'

B. C. LAW: 'Gautama Buddha and the Paribrajakas.'

AMARASWAR THAKUR: 'Jail Administration in Ancient India.'

B. L. MUKHERJEE: 'The Vratyas and their Sacrifices.'

H. K. DES: 'Mede and Madra.'

„ : 'When Kurus fought Pandavas.'

Bengal, Past and Present

VOLUME XXXI, PART II

M. J. SETH: 'Armenians and the East India Company.'

P. C. MUKHERJEE: 'Influence of Sea-power on the Consolidation of the Position on the East.' A certain phase of this subject was dealt with by Prof. J. Holland Rose in a previous issue (September 1924) of the *Journal of Indian History*, which covers the period from 1746-1802. The object of the present paper is to show that the real crises which the English sea-power averted and made possible the growth of the empire belong to the seventeenth century.

R. G.

OUR EXCHANGES

1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
2. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
3. *Hindustan Review*, Calcutta.
4. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
5. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
6. *The Calcutta Review*, Calcutta.
7. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*,
Poona.
8. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University,
New York.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*,
London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co.
10. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla. (Bombay).
11. *Journal of Behar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
12. *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*.
Von Wilh. Geiger, Leipzig.
13. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*. (London
Institution).
14. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
15. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodhana Mandal*, Poona.
18. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Archéologie*, Poona.

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EDITOR

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MADRAS

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Notice to Contributors

CONTRIBUTORS are requested to be so good as to address papers and correspondence to the Editor, *Journal of Indian History*, 'SriJāyavāsam,' East Māja Street, Mylapore, Madras.

Contributors of articles to this journal will greatly oblige the editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the editor, in entering instructions to the press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proofs, etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

Contributors will also greatly lighten the task of the editor, as well as lessen the cost of composition and correction, by observing the following suggestions :—

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2. Write plainly, especially proper names and foreign words. If foreign characters are to be employed, let them resemble as closely as possible the type in our fonts. If roman or italic characters with diacritical points are used, see that the points are distinct and rightly placed. Words to be printed in italics should be once underscored. Words to be printed in CLarendon TYPE may be once underscored with blue pencil. Typewritten copy always needs to be carefully revised, with especial attention to mechanical faults and to the punctuation.

3. Indicate paragraphs clearly by a wide indentation at the beginning ; or, if the break is an after-thought, by the usual sign (P). Begin all larger divisions of an article on a fresh sheet of paper. It is hardly necessary to say that the proper construction of paragraphs is far more than a matter of external appearance.

4. Punctuate the copy precisely as you wish it to appear in print. Double marks of quotation (" ") should be used for included quotations, definitions and the like, and single marks of quotation (' ') for actual quotations.

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first occurs. In subsequent citations the work may be referred to by the significant words of the title; but abbreviations which may not be at once understood are to be avoided, and, above all, entire uniformity should be observed throughout the article. Where some conventional system of citation is in general use, as in the case of the Vedas and the Brahmic literature, the established custom of scholars should be followed. Titles of books will be printed in italics; titles or articles in periodicals, in quotation marks, with the name of the periodical in italics. But the well-established method of abbreviating the titles of the journals of the five principal oriental societies (*JA*, *JAOS*, *JASB*, *JRAS*, *ZDMG*,) should be adhered to.

6 It is desirable, for reasons of economy as well as good typography, that footnotes be kept within moderate limits. References to footnotes should be made by brief series of natural numbers (say from 1 to 10), not by stars, daggers, etc. As to the method of inserting footnotes in the copy, good usage differs. A way convenient for author, editor and printer is to insert the note, with a wider left-hand margin than that used for the text, beginning the note on the line next after the line of text to which it refers, the text itself being resumed on the line next after the ending of the note. But if the note is an after-thought, or if it is long, it is well to interpolate it on a fresh sheet as a rider.

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Remittances, correspondence relative to subscriptions, and notices of change of address should be addressed to—

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MADRAS, S.

EDITORIAL NOTICE

It has been in contemplation for sometime whether something could not be done to make research work in the Department of Indian History in the Universities accessible to teachers and the more advanced students of Indian History. Arrangements are in progress to bring this about, if possible. If our efforts in this direction should succeed, the journal will hereafter be in two parts, as it were; the first part containing articles of research, as heretofore; and the second part will consist of (1) translations from works of general interest in foreign languages, such as the one on the Diplomatic Theories in Ancient India based on the *Arthashastra* and others of a similar character; and (2) articles of general interest bearing upon Indian History and historical studies on topics and periods which may form courses of lectures at Universities. The latter part, is expected, will be of direct use to students and teachers of Indian History, and may be marked off as a distinct part of the journal called *University Supplement*. It is expected that this supplement would enhance the direct utility of the journal, and provide a medium between workers in Indian History and readers interested in the subject. We hope the response would be sufficient to justify the effort.

EDITOR.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Ancient Indian Culture.¹

BY

H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.S.I.

GENTLEMEN,

It gives me great pleasure to be present amongst you this evening and to participate in the JUBILEE CELEBRATION of the Sanskrit College. Both my revered father and myself have been always keenly interested in the welfare of this College and watched its work with pride and pleasure. Started in 1878 at the expressed desire of my grandfather, it has passed through many vicissitudes; but in spite of these, it has continued to flourish and it now occupies a unique place in the educational system in the State. It is no doubt true that latterly it has been eclipsed in importance by other educational institutions which cater to modern needs. Nevertheless the work which this College has been doing is of immeasurable value and its importance cannot be judged by numerical standards alone. For, this institution stands for all that is great, noble and eternal, in our ancient culture. It is the centre of Sanskrit learning, from which a knowledge of the rich store of our ancient heritage has radiated to all parts of the State and even outside. It has, in fact, preserved, for the use of future generations, the essence of those traditions and characteristics,

¹ His Highness the Maharaja's Speech on the Occasion of the Jubilee of the Maharaja's Sanskrit College. Reproduced with the gracious consent of His Highness. *Ed.*

on which the structure of our Indian civilisation was built in the past. This College is thus rendering a national service of no mean order to the country. That this is not an unduly large claim will be clear, if we remember that in any reconstruction of our social, political or religious polity, we could not, and should not, cut ourselves off from all our historic past and that our future must have its roots deep in the past.

Besides, Sanskrit learning embodies a culture, a discipline, a type of humanism, which no other learning, old or new, dead or living, can present to our age. It is not from the stand-point of objective knowledge, the knowledge of the facts and laws of the world, that we should adjudge the value of Sanskrit learning. For, the Knower that stands behind that knowledge, the *Atman*, has also to be known, and it is this *Atma-vidya*, the knowledge of the self, to which the study of Sanskrit opens the way, is a science which is true of no other literature to the same degree. And this is not a barren knowledge—it is indeed the supreme *Vidya*, the science of sciences. And its sovereign character is known by its fruits. For, in India, it has created and illumined the arts, and given birth to a distinctive civilisation.

Oriental Art, to-day, is seen to be a new world in itself, the discovery of which is likely to usher in a World-Renaissance as creative as the sixteenth-century Renaissance in Europe. And much of what is unique in this Asiatic art had India for its fountain-head. And it is the spirit enshrined in Sanskrit literature that can alone reveal the inner meaning of that art, in architectural types of temple and pagoda, in sculptural motifs of the Nataraja or the Buddha, in generalized lines and curves of the Ajanta frescoes, or in the melodic systems of the *Ragas* and *Raginis*. It is the light derived from Sanskrit learning that illumines, interprets and recreates the marvellous world of Asiatic art in all its ramifications from the steppes of Central Asia to the secret strands and roots of the Far Eastern Archipelago.

But deeper than all this is the need of the world to-day for that ~~eternal~~ truth, which Sanskrit learning attests ~~more fully, more~~ ~~convincingly, than any other learning of literature—the truth which~~

in Brahms and the Peace of Brahms, in other words, in the oneness of man and all creations in the cosmic Reality and in the realization of that oneness, the sovereign cure for the malady of the world, a malady which an ill-directed pursuit of Science and Power has only aggravated, has indeed brought to a paroxysmal fury in our age. The emancipation of the man and the world of man from this illusion is the problem of our age, and this emancipation will not only be a fitting conclusion to the age-long history of human freedom, but will also usher in a Renaissance fruitful in works of Peace and in saving Power and Knowledge. Sanskrit Learning and the spirit enshrined in it, are of inestimable value to this world's emancipation and renaissance.

But, this makes it all the more necessary that all students of Sanskrit learning including the *śāhms* of this institution should value this discipline of the spirit, this cultural ideal, more than the mechanical or formal elements, the *dśśśś* of ages, with which all ancient learning must be loaded. A *Paññt*, trained in an institution like this, cannot be a *Vidvān* unless his whole mind and life are rightly attuned to this sovereign culture, which is the genius of India and of her Sanskrit learning. He must be a light-bringer, a bearer of this message of Wisdom, a living example of the true *Vidyā* and the *Satyadharma*, of that conquest of matter by the Spirit, that independence of mind and character, and that fearlessness of conduct, which are of the very essence of Brahmya. He must always be conscious that he bears a sacred responsibility, for by him and in him will the ancient *Vidyā* be judged. And, if he thus fits himself for serving his fellow-men in the higher needs of the soul, he may rest assured that the Providence, which works ever in the dispensations of Society, will not abandon him, for is it not written—' *Yoga-kshemam Vātsanyakam* ' ?

But, his greatest treasure in life will be that learning of which he is the custodian,—a blessing and a treasure of which none can deprive him. Let him live happy in the consciousness of his privilege.

~~He~~ ~~the~~ ~~idea~~, but comprehensive, report read on behalf of the

Committee this evening, two points of some importance emerge, viz., the future policy regarding the courses of studies to be followed in the College; and secondly, the prospects of the students who take degrees here. With regard to the first point, you must all realize that the Sanskrit College alone cannot escape the consequences of the impact of Western civilization upon all our ideas and institutions. I do not propose to lay down this evening what shape the courses of study should take in future. Such questions must be left to the experts; but this much I must say, that, whatever changes may be called for in this respect to suit modern conditions, every care should be taken that the essentials of our ancient culture are preserved, viz., that intimate, nay, almost filial, connection between the teacher and the taught, that thorough mastery of the subjects studied, that love of learning for its own sake and keenness to impart it to others without thought of reward, and, above all, that close association of religion and education, which has so large an influence on the formation of character. As regards the second point, I can assure you that my Government will view with sympathy any representations on this matter and on other matters pertaining to the improvement of the College, which the authorities of the College may make.

Gentlemen, the occasion that has brought us together this evening is a historic one. The continued existence of any institution for fifty years is in itself remarkable and it is all the more so in the case of this College devoted to the neglected study of Sanskrit and confronted with innumerable difficulties. I must therefore congratulate all those, who have been responsible for its efficient maintenance on the success of their efforts. I must specially congratulate the teachers, past and present, of this institution, to all of whom it has been mostly a labour of love to work for the good of the College. I wish the Sanskrit College all success and many more years of prosperous and useful work.

In conclusion, let me thank the students and staff for the welcome

Forgotten Episodes in the History of Mediaeval India¹

BY

PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR

University of Madras

'HARSHA's death must have loosened the bonds which have restrained the disruptive forces, always ready to operate in India, and led them to produce their natural result, a medley of petty states with ever-varying boundaries, and engaged in internecine war. Such was India when first disclosed to European observation in the fourth century, and such it always had been except during the comparatively brief periods in which a vigorous central government has compelled the mutually repellent molecules of the body politic to check their gyrations and submit to the grasp of a superior controlling force.' These are the terms in which the talented author of the *Early History of India* described the condition of affairs that followed the death of Harsha. The century following, namely, the period from A.D. 650 to 750 is comparatively barren of events so far as Hindu India as hitherto known, is concerned. There are, however, some few glimpses into the condition of India at the time from a few sources, the piecing together of which may give us an idea of the actual position of affairs during the period of the three or four generations from that of the great Emperor. From these it is found that an attempt, not altogether unsuccessful, was made to revive the empire of Magadha, so as to make it the dominant force at least in Mid-India. This empire perhaps held together for four generations when it passed on to another dynasty under Yasovarman of Kanauj, of whom we have had but a few glimpses so far. It would be interesting, therefore, to pursue the painful process of building up from these stray glimpses a picture of the state of affairs, which would give us a fuller view of the

¹ This formed the introductory part of the course of Ordinary University Lectures on the Guptas by the Professor of Indian History and Archaeology at the Madras University.

political condition of India in the century following the death of Harsha.

The death of Harsha, without leaving a successor with a title beyond question, would in the ordinary course of things have resulted in the empire breaking up into the separate kingdoms composing it. It would have been the legitimate ambition of each of these to achieve the imperial position in its own turn. Such, however, does not appear exactly to have been the case in this instance. It is generally taken that there was a usurpation, and the usurper fell a victim to the consequences of his own unroyal treatment of the ambassador from China. For this so-called usurpation and what followed in consequence our only source of information is such references as we find in the History of the Tang dynasty of China. As far as the available details take us, there is nothing clear to indicate that Arjuna, or Aruṣāṣva as he is called, usurped the empire. It seems to be much rather that Aruṣāṣva was the ruler of the province called Tirabhukti in that period, embracing within it the region between the Himalayas and the Ganges, and extending eastwards from the Gangetic Doab to the Kharotya River. That would mean no usurpation in the ordinary sense of the term, unless by usurpation is meant the assertion of independence by a governor when the empire ceased to exist in consequence of the death of the emperor and the absence of a successor. This inference seems clear as, among the details relating to the Tibetan war, there is no indication of Aruṣāṣva having mobilised the whole of the military resources of the empire against the Tibetan army under the Chinese Ambassador. There is a positive statement that Kumāra Bhāskara Varman of Assam supplied provisions and rendered other assistance of the kind, to the Tibetan army. This he could not have done if it was the empire that was at war with the Tibetans. Besides Magadha, south of the Ganges seems to have remained absolutely unaffected by the war.² It seems, therefore, better to regard the war as a local affair concerned only with a single province of the empire of Harsha which at the time, had set itself up as an independent kingdom.

This conclusion comes out clearly from the dispositions that Harsha made of his empire in the later years of his reign. We learn

² See Sir W. Waddell's article in the *Leeds Quarterly Review*, for January 1900, p. 10.

from the Harshacharita and from Hsien T'sang that one ruler that defied Harsha's power even after he established himself firmly upon the throne of the united kingdoms of Thanesar and Kansu, was Śaśānka of Bengal. Apparently the operations against him committed to the charge of Bhaṇḍi by Harsha did not have the result of crushing the enemy out of existence.¹ Far from it Śaśānka was still ruling over Bengal with considerable power till almost about the year A.D. 620. The only possible inference from this is that the punitive expedition against him ended merely in an agreement, the actual terms of which we do not know, but the fact that Śaśānka was still left in considerable power—perhaps even extended power—indicates that the terms were not all to the advantage of Harsha. The issue of the Ganjam grant in the Gupta Samvat 300, that is A.D. 618-20² would justify this inference. Up to the year therefore A.D. 620 Śaśānka lived and exercised his authority unimpaired over the eastern kingdom of Bengal and the adjoining territory.

Hsien T'sang makes the statement in his description of Gaya, that Śaśānka uprooted the Bodhi tree there root and branch, and that a succeeding ruler, Pūrṇavarman by name, of the dynasty of Asoka repaired the damage and let the tree grow twenty feet. He further states that Pūrṇavarman was the ruler till some time before the visit of Hsien T'sang. These remarks of the Chinese traveller warrant the inference that Pūrṇavarman became ruler in the region where Bodhi-Gaya is situated in succession to Śaśānka, and ruled till a short time before the visit of Hsien T'sang.³ It seems probable that, after the death of Pūrṇavarman, Harsha annexed the territory to his own dominions, if he did not do that before, and this conclusion finds support in another remark of Hsien T'sang that about the year A.D. 640, Harsha was returning from an expedition to Kongyodha.⁴ There is further support for this position in the fact that Kumāra Bhaskaravarman of Kamarūpa (Assam) issued a copper plate grant⁵ from Karpūśvarpa, the capital actually of Śaśānka. As this ruler and Harsha were on terms of a treaty alliance, and very friendly to

¹ *Harshacharita*, translated by Cowell and Thomas, p. 284.

² *Epigraphica Indica*, vi. 163.

³ *Waddell, Yuan Chwang*, II 118.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I 246, *Lt's*, p. 126.

⁵ *Ind. Arch.* 21, 22-23 and *Indian Antiquary*, 1914, p. 26.

each other, it would be safe to infer that Karpāsvarṇa and a part of the territory of Śaśāṅka were made over to Kumāra by Harsha after the death of Śaśāṅka. It was probably in this general arrangement, that Pūrṇavarṇa became ruler of at least a part of Magadha, it may be the whole of Magadha. The death of Pūrṇavarṇa probably occasioned the need for Harsha's intervention in Magadha, and that is perhaps what is indicated in his expedition to Kongyodha referred to above. It seems, therefore, justifiable that the death of Śaśāṅka led to the annexation to the empire of Harsha of the extensive kingdom of Bengal, and that Harsha did not straightway annex it to the empire but made his own dispositions by dividing the territory of Śaśāṅka among the rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms or viceroynalties by rounding off their frontiers on a systematic basis. It seems, therefore, clear that the territory east of the Doab and extending from the Himalayas to the sea was, in the last years of the emperor, divided into the following viceroynalties—(1) Tīrabhukti taking in the whole territory between the Himalayas and the Ganges, and westward of the Kharatoya River to the very frontiers of the Doab; (2) the territory of Assam to the east of the Kharatoya River taking in bits of Bengal in the near border; (3) Magadha with perhaps a considerable slice of territory added extending its frontiers up to the Ganges in its lower course; (4) Bengal itself must have been reconstituted by including in it all the territory in the lower course of the Ganges, and must have comprised in it the districts lying along the coast of what is now Bengal and all Orissa. This we find to be the actual disposition of powers in the century following the death of Harsha from such records as are accessible to us. Tīrabhukti must have been a viceroynalty of very great importance, and so also Magadha. Kāmarūpa was undoubtedly a kingdom in alliance, subordinate alliance though it be. Bengal was perhaps a feudatory kingdom also, but may have been under the rule of a local dynasty, which may have been even that of Śaśāṅka himself. If Harsha made such a disposition of his territory during his life time, it is possible to infer that this territory broke up into four kingdoms on the death of Harsha, without leaving a considerable slice of territory to the Tīrabhukti, which was the case.

who intervened on behalf of the Chinese ambassador Wang Hsien T'ao. The war went against the Indian ruler, who was taken prisoner along with his family, and was carried over ultimately to China by the ambassador, where he died. As far as the details of the war accessible to us go, we do not find that the neighbouring province of Magadha, the part of it south of the Ganges, or any other part of the empire was involved in it, except for the assistance that the ruler of Assam gave to the Tibetans by way of supplies, etc. Therefore it may be taken that the war was actually confined to the single province of the empire, which may for convenience be called the viceroyalty of Tirubhukti. Almost ten years after the war, the self-same Chinese ambassador, a high placed official of China, the Minister in charge of the Imperial Archives, visited India again on a tour of pilgrimage in the course of which he was able to proceed unmolested to all the Buddhist holy places within the sphere of a Buddhist pilgrim's beat. What was more he returned without molestation across the north-western frontier. The actual date of this pilgrimage is A.D. 657. In A.D. 657 therefore the country must have enjoyed a certain amount of peace and provided a sufficient amount of security for an official of the importance of Wang Hsien T'ao to pass through unmolested. More than this perhaps we may even presume that there was something like a common authority recognized though this need not necessarily be an inevitable inference. Was there such a power which may be taken to have exercised extensive authority over the region of Mid-India to be regarded more or less as a successor of the empire?

We have some records of a dynasty of rulers who affiliated themselves in their grants to the family of the later Guptas, though not to that of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. One ruler by name Ādityasāna has left behind him half a dozen records of his, of which all but one are undated.²

The dated one belongs to the year 66, obviously of the Harsha era, which would mean the year A.D. 672. Another feature of these records is that in some of them he does not give himself the suzerain titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, etc., while in some he gives himself those titles. The inference therefore is clear that he started as a subordinate

ruler, and at some stage of his career he transformed himself into a sovereign power. This is confirmed by the fact that his father is referred to with no higher titles than that of a *sāmanta*, and nothing more is stated of him than that he was the intimate friend of Harsha. This reference to Mādhavagupta in association with Harsha in the records gives us the clue to an identification, which perhaps would throw light upon the connection of this foundatory family of the Guptas, with Magadha.

If this Mādhavagupta, the father of Ādityasēna, was the same as the Mādhavagupta who figures in the *Harshacharita* as the friend and companion of Harsha, we may draw the inference that when Harsha rearranged the province in consequence of the death of Śaśanka, he may have appointed his friend to the vicerealty of the important and even palatine principality of Magadha.

The Aphaad stone inscription¹ of Ādityasēna gives a list of eight generations of Guptas in the following order:—

Krishnagupta
 |
 Harshagupta
 |
 Śri Jivtagupta
 |
 Kumāragupta
 |
 Damōdharagupta
 |
 Mahāsēnagupta
 |
 Mādhavagupta
 |
 Ādityasēna

In regard to some of these the following points of historical interest are also noted. No. 4 Kumāragupta is said to have defeated the ocean-like army of Śaśavarman, and entered, as if plunging in water, the fire specially lighted in Allahabad. This means that he fought against Śaśavarman and ascended the funeral pyre, perhaps because he was defeated. His successor Damōdharagupta died in battle against the Maṅkharis, whose elephants caused the death of the Kṣātra soldiers. His successor Mahāsēnagupta defeated Śaśavarman's army, the fame of which deed of heroism was heard on the

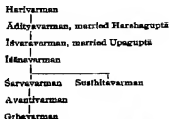
¹ *Epist. Gupta-Pratiharas, p. 100.*

banks of Lauhitya.' Then come Mīdhavagupta, whose friendship Śrī Harshadēva sought. Then followed Āditayāsna. Of these Mahāsēnagupta was probably a ruler connected by marriage alliance with the family of Harsha. Harsha's grandfather Ādityavardhana is said to have married Mahāsēnagupta, who from her name was probably a sister of Mahāsēnagupta. If so he must have been a maternal uncle of Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harsha. Mahāsēnagupta is said to have defeated the army of a Sūsthitavarman. This Sūsthitavarman is taken to be the ruler of Assam and the father of Kumārabhākaravarman by some scholars on the ground that the River Lauhitya is mentioned in the connection. This, however, does not necessarily follow. The River Lauhitya is not mentioned as anywhere near the scene of battle; it is merely mentioned as a place on the uttermost eastern frontier up to which the fame of the heroic deed had spread. It cannot, therefore, bear the weight of the inference that the Sūsthitavarman referred to is the ruler of Assam. There is undoubtedly an Assam contemporary of Mahāsēnagupta by name Sūsthitavarman. If this Sūsthitavarman had gone to war with Mahāsēnagupta, the fact is likely to be mentioned in connection with the embassy that came to Harsha from Assam.¹ The *Harshacharita* is not likely to have overlooked a detail like that. The probabilities, therefore, are that this Sūsthitavarman was a Maukhari ruler, though the name has not come down to us in any of the records or coins so far accessible, of this dynasty. Notwithstanding this want of direct reference, it would be more in keeping with the history of the relations between the Maukharis on the one side and the ruling dynasty of Thanesar on the other, to regard this Sūsthitavarman as a Maukhari, a brother probably of Śaravarmān rather than a son. Apart from that it is clear that this Mahāsēnagupta was the Gupta contemporary of Prabhākaravardhana. Where did he rule, and what was his kingdom? These are the points that we shall have to settle on the basis of such evidence as we have.

In the dynastic list of these Guptas, the first three names have no historical association. The next three names come into close connection with the Maukharis as almost hereditary enemies. The following

¹ *Prabhākararāja*, pp. 246-7. Trias C & T, p. 217. The translators adopt the reading *Sūsthitavarman*. The *Nirṇayavivara* text gives the correct reading *Sūsthitavarman*.

two belong to a period following Harsha, which we have dealt with already in part. The Maukharis had their headquarters at Kansuj, and had a comparatively extensive kingdom¹. Among them there are eight rulers in succession forming a dynasty up to the date of Harsha or Mādhavagupta. Their names may be set down in order as follows :—



The fourth Išānavarman seems to be thought of as the ruler of this dynasty who really brought it into importance. Of the first we have no information; of the second and the third, the only useful information is that they married apparently two Gupta Princesses, and if we may assume from the name that they were related to the contemporary Gupta rulers, the queen of Ādityavarman must have been a sister of Harshagupta, and the queen of Išvaravarman a princess perhaps similarly related to Jivitagupta. Whether that be so or no, Išānavarman assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja, and was the son of Išvaravarman by Upaguptā. It is against him that Kumāragupta fought and failed. His son was Śarvavarman, who styled himself Paramanābhāvara and Mahārājādhirāja. We have already stated that Suśhītavarman, must have been a successor of Śarvavarman, either a brother or a son, and as such fought against the Maukharis. Next follows Avantivarman, whose son Gṛhavarman was married to Rājya Śrī, sister of Harsha. We thus see that Suśhītavarman may have been the contemporary of Mahāśānagupta. Passing on to the family of Harsha himself, we find that Prabhākaravardhana was the son of Ādityavardhana by his queen Mahāśānaguptā. The latter name Mahāśānaguptā raises a presumption that she was a sister of Mahāśān-

¹ Fleet, *op. cit.*, Nos. 45-53.

gupta who fought with Sushiltavarman. If this should be correct Prabhākaravardhana took rank with Avantivarman, his son Harsha with Orhavarman, a position which seems to be warranted by what appears in the *Harshacharita*. Where did this dynasty of Guptas rule? Was it in Magadha?

We know that Mādhvagupta's successors were associated with Magadha. This would naturally raise a presumption that the family ruled in Magadha. We see in the *Harshacharita* and in the inscriptions that a certain number of Gupta princes played a prominent part in his reign. Of these three names are worthy of notice. The first is Dēvagupta whom Rājyavardhana destroyed according to the Madhuban grant of Harsha.¹ Rājya during his short life fought only two wars the one against the Huns and the other against the Malva ruler who carried on a war against Gṛhavarman, his brother-in-law, killed him, and threw Rājyasri into prison. Rājya had to conduct a war of reprisal against him. He conducted the war successfully, killed the Malva ruler, and returned victorious with his cousin Bhaṇḍi as his companion. When Rājya in his turn was assassinated by Śaśanka, Bhaṇḍi led the army of his master successfully back to Thanesar and is said to have brought along with him a number of Malva notables in chains.² It, therefore, seems indubitable that Dēvagupta was the ruler of Malva. Again the *Harshacharita* makes reference to two princes of Malva.³ Kumāragupta and Mādhvagupta, slightly older than the brothers, Rājyavardhana and Harshavardhana who were sent by their father to the court of Prabhākaravardhana.

Of these two brothers, Kumāra was made the companion of Rājya and Mādhava occupied a similar place with respect to Harsha. It is obviously this person to whom the *Harshacharita* refers as the Malva prince (*Malava Rajaseva*)⁴ when Hāpa paid him the first visit.

The Mālava Rāja from whom these princes came to the court of Thanesar must have been in alliance, and related to the royal family, or else it would be difficult to understand that these princes should be

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, i, 67.

² *Harshacharita*, pp. 234-5. See also note on this subject by Rao Bahadur O. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval India*, vol. I.

³ *Harshacharita*, p. 169 and Translation, 120.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87 and *Ibid.*, p. 95.

sent as pages in attendance. If Mahāśālagupta, the mother of Prabhākara-
 vardhana was the sister of Mahāśālagupta he would then be
 sending his sons to the court of his nephew, and there would be
 certainly nothing undignified in it. It appears therefore that Mahāśā-
 lagupta, the father of Mādhavagupta and Kumāragupta was the ruler of
 Malva being allied by marriage with the family of Thanosar and kept
 the peace with them while carrying on an unrelenting war against the
 Maukharis of Kanauj. The fact that the brothers Mādhavagupta and
 Kumāragupta were sent to Prabhākara-
 vardhana's court was probably
 because there was another prince who succeeded to the throne with
 whom these princes could not have been as happy as at the court of
 Prabhākara-
 vardhana. Dīvagupta whom Rājyavardhana punished
 must, therefore, have been the ruler of Malva in succession to
 Mahāśālagupta. So then we can take it that Mahāśālagupta and his
 predecessors ruled in Malva in all probability and were Gupta rulers
 of Malva.¹ After the conquest of Malva the dynasty came to an end
 in Dīvagupta, and the two princes belonging to the royal family were
 in the court of Harsha himself. Harsha made other arrangements to
 carry on the government. That accounts for the statement of Hsien
 Tsang that there was a Brahman ruler in Malva. Dīvagupta and
 Kumāragupta got omitted in the inscriptions of Ādikyaśakha and his
 successors, because they were collaterals and Mādhavagupta had
 perforce to be mentioned as he was in the direct line. Even so the
 Apsara inscription has nothing more to say of him than that he was
 sought in friendship by Harsha. There is no other person who
 appears to have been as good a friend of Harsha as the Malva prince
 Mādhavagupta in the *Harsha-charita*. We can, therefore, safely take it
 that the Mādharva of the inscription referred to is no other than the
 Mādhavagupta, the friend of Harsha according to the *Harsha-charita*.
 This Mādharva was in the company of Harsha almost in all critical
 moments of his life. He was the one companion on whom Harsha
 rested his arms when fatigued by his wandering in search of his sister,
 as he had to go on foot in the last stage of it.² He seems to have
 been the person to whom he addressed the remark about the young
 gallant when Bhaṭṭa first paid him a visit in his camp on the river
 Ajñsveti. This Mādhavagupta, the father of Ādikyaśakha was clearly,

¹ Mr. C. V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, note referred to above.

² *Harsha-charita*, p. 385, Translation, 328.

the Malva prince of the name. How did he come to be the ruler of Magadha?

This could only be by appointment of Harsha. As we have pointed out already Harsha must have made disposition of the territories in the eastern part of his empire after the death of Puruṣavarman, and in the arrangements must have constituted the viceroyalty of Magadha, to which he probably appointed his trusted friend Mādhavagupta. Ādityasena inherited the territory from his father. He probably assumed independent titles, and even styled himself paramount ruler some time after the Tibetan war when there was no chance of a revival of the empire. After the death of Śaśiśuka, Harsha must have reconstituted the province by creating a viceroyalty for the whole of the region of Thihit carrying its eastern frontier up to the Kharatoya River. All east of it was within the kingdom of Kumāra Bhāskara-varman, whose authority extended even to this side of the Kharatoya river, as he issued a grant from Karonavara, near the capital of Śaśiśuka. The territory on this side of the Ganges, extending as far as the frontier Orissa, was constituted as the province of Magadha, appointing Mādhavagupta to the charge of it. The kingdom of Bengal must have been reconstituted and with the addition of Orissa, and possibly a part of Kalinga, should have been formed a province by itself. That it was so under the empire is clear from the fact that Hien T'sang refers to Harsha's return from an expedition to Kōngyodha which is referred to in the Guejien inscription of Śaśiśuka. Arjuna or Arupāṣva was apparently ruler of Thakimel, and his defeat and imprisonment as a result of the Tibetan war must have induced the others to seek their own safety. That was probably the occasion when Ādityasena assumed independence which may be about A.D. 630. His inscription is dated A.D. 672 and gives him paramount titles, and these were probably assumed by Ādityasena some time about the period when the Chinese ambassador Wang Hsien T'ao visited India on his third mission. The position thus founded by Ādityasena continued intact through the reigns of his son Dīvagupta, his grandson Viśvavagupta, and his great-grandson Jīvitagupta. The Deo Garh inscription of the last makes reference to grants of BHĀḌĪTYA, Śarvevarman and Avantivarmā which he renewed by this grant. This is additional evidence that he was ruler over the territory not only of the two Maṅkharis, but even

of BHĀṬITYA, in all probability the Mahārāja BHĀṬITYA of Hisea T'ang. The territory of Āḍityasēna should have been the same as the territory over which the Maṅkharis ruled in this part, and supports the view put forward here that the earlier Guptas were rulers of Malva, and the father of Āḍityasēna was transplanted in Magadha.

What was really the position or the extent of the empire of Āḍityasēna, if it is permissible to call it such? Of the few inscriptions that have come down to us relating to this period and of this dynasty the actual records of the dynasty do not give us any idea of the extent of his empire, or the character of his authority. But there is a record at Deogarh in Bihar,¹ in the heart of his territory proper, which states that he was ruler of a comparatively extensive empire, and that his authority at any rate, extended as far as *Cholepura*. He is said to have brought vast wealth obtained at the capital of the Chola, and with that, celebrated the third *Advanṭika*. He is further said to have constructed a temple of Viṣṇu in the form of Naraiṇa, and in connection with this establishment the record purports itself to have been originally made. Unfortunately however, the record is found in a temple dedicated to Vaiḍyanātha, that is Śiva, and is in the Maṅkharī characters of about the sixteenth century. As the record itself contains reference to a further establishment of Viṣṇu in the form of the Primeval boar (*Varaha*), the document that has come down to us cannot be the original, but a comparatively late copy. One feature in it is worthy of note. Āḍityasēna is said to have brought the wealth and built the temple referred to before, in the *Kṛitayuga*, that is in the golden age of the Hindus, and the queen's name is given as Kosaśrī, instead of Kosaśrī which was her actual name. The latter feature can be explained as a copyist's error, and the former feature would mean that at the time the record was put in its present form, it was so ancient in the estimation of contemporaries that the temple was taken to be of immemorial foundation. Notwithstanding these defects, we may take it that the record is a copy of an older, and even genuine original. At the same time it must be admitted that the *Cholepura*, which would mean nothing else than the capital of the Chola country, may contain an error in transcription. It may not be safe, therefore, to draw the inference

¹ *First, Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 112, No. 6.

that he actually went to the Chola country, or laid the Chola under tribute. In the latter half of the seventh century, the Chola power may have existed, but in no high position in the Chola country proper. But there was perhaps a Chola country in the region extending from Kālabasti to Cuddapah, to which Hsien Tsang refers in his *Chu-yi*. Whichever be the Chola country under reference it would perhaps be unsafe to take it that Āḍityasēna's authority, or even influence, extended as far south as the Chola country. But the more general achievements ascribed to him seem possible from the other records of his, and would make the inference sustainable that he was a sovereign of very great influence in Magadha and the surrounding territories, and that his influence and power were great enough for him to put forward a claim to imperial authority, without the claim being seriously called in question.

We have the date for Āḍityasēna of A.D. 672 as was mentioned already, and according to a Nepal inscription,¹ he married one of his daughters to a Maṅkhari prince, by name Bhogavarmān, which means that at the time of the dominance of Āḍityasēna's influence in the central region of Hindūstan, the Maṅkhari, had not gone quite out of existence. They were still in a position of sufficient influence and retained so much of their prestige, as to enter into marriage relations with the emperors' dynasty for the time being.

This Bhogavarmān's daughter married the Nepal prince, Śivadēva, and her son was a Jayadēva for whom we have a date in the Harsha Sam. 153, which would correspond to A.D. 739-80. At the time of the Tibetan invasion, Nepal was in alliance, perhaps a subordinate alliance with Tibet, the Tibetan ruler having married one of the princesses of Nepal. This Jayadēva of Nepal was the great grandson of Āḍityasēna in the female line. Jivtagupta was his great grandson in the male line. We shall not perhaps be far wrong if we took it that Jivtagupta of the Deo Barnak inscription was almost a contemporary of this Jayadēva of Nepal. Therefore Jivtagupta's date would be roughly about the middle of the eighth century when according to Kalhana's *Rajataranginī* the Kaśmir ruler, Lalitāditya, Mukhīyāda defeated, and overthrew completely the ruler of Kanauj, Yashovarmān. This perhaps indicates that the sovereignty of Āḍityasēna

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, ix, 180.

and his successors gradually shifted from the Guptas of Magadha to the ruler of Kanauj, who might possibly have been of the dynasty of the Maukharis. This seems to be borne out by the statement in the inscription of Jayaditya of Nepal, referred to above, for the record mentions the fact that this Jayaditya married princess Rājyamati. Rājyamati is said to have been *the daughter of a Śrī Harshaditya, Lord of Gauda, Oḍra, Kalinga, Kosala and other lands, and was of the race of Bhagadatta*. The race of Bhagadatta was the race that ruled over Assam, as Bhagadatta was the son of Narakaśura, and the family of Kumāra Bhaskaravarman claimed descent from him. This Harshaditya must, therefore, have been the ruler of Assam, to which perhaps, he had added by his own efforts, or by those of his immediate predecessors, the province of Oḍra, Kalinga and Kosala, as Pundra had already been added to the territory of Kumāra perhaps in the last years of Harsha. This description of Harshaditya's territory keeps clear of Magadha, and is almost along three frontiers of it. Therefore at the period of rule of Yaśovarman the rulers of Pundra or Bengal must have exercised authority or rule over a considerable extent of territory along the eastern frontier, extending from Assam to Ganjam in the Madras Presidency. When Muktiśiṅga had overthrown Yaśovarman and started on his *sigrāya*, the first ruler he could attack was the ruler of Kalinga, according to the *Rajatarangini*² as the territory of Yaśovarman had already been subdued. In another of his adventures he had to get across to the ruler of Bengal to try his strength against. When he wanted to gain assistance against the Bengal ruler, having escaped from prison by stratagem, he could apply to the king of Nepal. Thus the reduction of Yaśovarman to subjection brought the Karkotaka ruler into conflict with the ruler of Kalinga with none other between Yaśovarman's authority must, therefore, have extended not only over the territory of Kanauj proper, that is, the ancestral kingdom of the Maukharis, but must have taken in the whole of Magadha. That again is an indication that the dominant authority passed from the family of Ādityasēna, that is, from the Guptas of Magadha, to Yaśovarman of Kanauj.

Of Yaśovarman we have hitherto known but little beyond what is contained in Kātyāyana's *Rajatarangini*. So far as that work is

² Translation by Stein, Book I, p. 166, etc.

concerned it mentions Yaśoverman only incidentally as an important ruler of Central India who had been overthrown in war by Lalitāditya Muktiṣṭha, in the course of a description of the incidents of the reign of the Kashmir ruler. It adds one more detail regarding Yaśoverman, namely that he was a patron of two great poets Bhavabhūti and Vāṭapriya. Bhavabhūti is the well-known author of the three dramas, *Mahāvīra Charitam*, *Uttara Rāma Charitam*, and *Mālatī-Mādhava*. Vāṭapriya describes himself as a pupil of this Bhavabhūti who ultimately succeeded to the position at court occupied by Bhavabhūti as poet laureate.¹ In his Prakrit poem *Gaṇḍavaho* (*Gaṇḍavādha*, the slaying of the Bengal ruler), he is described in true epic fashion as a great ruler, a veritable incarnation of Vishnu, whose chief achievement and title to fame was his conquest of Gauda (Bengal) and the killing of the Gauda ruler, which forms the subject of the Prakrit epic. Lalitāditya Muktiṣṭha who vanquished Yaśoverman in his turn claims to have overthrown and killed another Bengal ruler. From what has been said above, Harsha was the great ruler of Assam in whose territory was included Bengal and the province appurtenant thereto. He is given the name of *Harshah* in the traditional history of Assam.² That probably was the ruler who was overthrown by Yaśoverman, and hence the great glorification that is made of this incident in the *Gaṇḍavaho*. In the *History of Assam* the dynasty of Bhagadatta is said to have come to an end either directly or indirectly with the ruler Harshah. Is this not a variant of the name Harsha? There was a short succession of two or three rulers following this revolution, and another dynasty entitled itself upon the throne. Has this not a reference to the death of the two successive rulers one of them having been put to death by Yaśoverman and the other by Lalitāditya Muktiṣṭha? If this should happen to be correct, Yaśoverman must have established an empire in succession to Āḍityasena in Mid-India, as his first title to greatness, according to *Gaṇḍavaho*, is the overthrow of a Magadha ruler. He extended this empire to include Vanga (Bengal) and all that formed part of it at the time. The empire, therefore, founded by the later dynasty of the Guptas in Magadha was continued under Yaśoverman and was put an end to by the overthrow of Yaśoverman by the ruler

¹ *Gaṇḍavaho*, 767-686. Introduction small.

² *Prof. Sir Edward Gait's History of Assam*.

of Kashmir. This put an end to the ascendancy of the central powers, and it was now the turn of the frontier kingdoms to assert their power and establish an ascendancy if possible. Three powers stood out almost in competition to achieve this ascendancy, the frontier kingdom of Kashmir, the rising kingdom of the Ghorjars in Maru or Marwar, and the newly established kingdom of Bengal in succession to the rulers of Assam. The latter half of the seventh century and the greater part of the eighth century were taken up with the revival of the Gupta empire in Magadha followed by that of Yasovarman, possibly a Maurya, and this central Indian Empire made way for the struggle between the Ghorjars and the Pālas of Bengal and culminated in the establishment of the empire of the Ghorjars at Kanauj.

NOTE

The poem of Ganḍavaśa of Vikatātrīja, published so far, consists of 1208 *śloka*s in the Bombay Sanskrit series (No. 34). On the face of it it deals with the slaying of the Ganḍa king on the analogy of the poem Kīrtiparvāḍa. The poem therefore is expected to deal with the death of a Ganḍa king at the hands of the enemy presumably in war, or after a combat of some sort. In the form in which it is available to us it seems an incomplete poem. The 1208 *śloka*s, all that is available so far, do not carry us far into the narrative. The Editor, Mr. H. P. Pandit, sets himself up to consider whether it is a complete work or no, and adduces many arguments of value to prove that the poem is incomplete. He nowhere refers to the colophon of the work which states in clear terms, that what is printed, the whole of 1208 *śloka*s, is *Kaśikāśaśa* or introduction which makes all discussion on this question superfluous. Obviously therefore, he had some reason to regard this colophon as not genuine or not forming part of the original. Even if it should be so, there is but little doubt that the part printed is nothing more than the introduction.

If the published part of the 1208 *śloka*s is the *Kaśikāśaśa* that it pretends to be, there must be a hint at any rate of the Ganḍa monarch who died at the hands of the hero and some indication of the greatness of the achievement. The first 997 *śloka*s describe a sort of *ślokaśloka* of the hero, and what follows is merely an account of the author and the circumstances under which the poem came to be composed. Is it legitimate to expect any indication of the main topic

in the first as Mr Pandit has done? This part has reference only to the anterior history of the hero and what follows is really the introduction to the main theme. In the first 697 *Shloka* there is frequent reference to the defeat and death of a Magadha king¹ and to an invasion of Vanga territory involving a defeat of the king.² There is no warrant for equating the *Magadha-raj* of the *Shloka* as equivalent to the Gauda, nor does the commentator do so in these cases. He falls into the blunder, so it must be called unfortunately, as the poem refers to Magadha, Vanga and Gauda separately only in *Shloka* 644³ which states that formerly, Magadha-nityaka was uprooted and dispossessed of his kingdom.

This was not all. The Magadha king fled from the field and was taken and killed, his queen having been taken prisoner and reduced to servitude. Hence this achievement against the ruler of Magadha stands out distinct as a separate achievement, and this is clearly indicated in the expression *pari* in *Shloka* 644 meaning a former achievement of the monarch.

Following this comes the successful invasion of Vanga and the defeat of its ruler. Then the hero is taken to the Dakhan and the South, then against the Piranthas and ultimately against the Himalayan regions almost on the lines of *Rajasevaka*. In all this Gauda as such, or its ruler, finds no mention whatever.

Shloka 1184 describes Yaśovarman as *Chakravartin* meaning thereby that he was a proficient in the arts of statecraft and diplomacy. It is in *Shloka* 1184 that we get the first direct reference to the Gauda ruler as the *Shloka* states, your sword prospers by cutting the throat of the Gauda ruler.⁴

Does it not follow from this that, in the first half, Vīkpatirāja merely describes the anterior history of Yaśovarman and then gives the actual introduction to the subject which he intended to treat in true epic form in the rest of the work whether it ever was written or no. It would be too much of an idiosyncrasy in an author of the eminence of Vīkpatirāja to call his work *Gaudavaho* and refer to the Gauda uniformly as the Magadha king. In what is actually no

¹ *Shloka* 694, 434 and 694.

² *Shloka* 677 and 688.

³ *Shloka* 644 *pari magadha-raj*.

⁴ *Yasovarman samantaprabandha-garvita-vaishya-kula ut jagat Gauda raja chhida rajaga samita danti stam.*

more than the *Kaśikasmāhā* or the introductory chapter.¹ Yasovarman first of all conquered Magadha killing its ruler in war, and having established an empire in consequence in succession to that of Ādityasāha, went further and annexed to it Bengal though only for a very brief period of time. This seems the only legitimate inference from the Guṇḍavaḥa in the form in which it is accessible to us so far.

¹ Cf. *Āśāśāhā* in the *Āśāśāhā* of Somadeva.

The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the 'Arthashastra'

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CHAPTER IV

GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE DIPLOMACY OF KAUTALYA

I

THE BASIS (*Pratyak*)

(*Ar. Śāst.* vi. 96; *Kam.* iv; *Agastya*, ch. 238)

As the true founder of a system, Kautilya endeavours at first to determine the basis of diplomacy. He distinguishes seven elements which he calls *Pratyak*. This expression is as old as the Śūnikhya philosophy which is pre-Buddhist in its origin. True to the tradition and the special psychology of Hindu schoolmen, Kautilya takes hold of an old word and gives it a new meaning. In the last chapter¹ of his book, he describes his method of exposition (*Antaryak*) and remarks thus :—

'I call that my own definition, which has not been given in a similar form by others. For example, the first *Pratyak*, the contiguous ground and the second *Pratyak*, etc. . . .'

So the word *Pratyak*, possesses a special significance. But we must remark also that Kautilya mentions first the Śūnikhya in the group of the four systems of philosophy which he calls by the common word *Āśramak*. Besides there seems to be a close parallelism between the struggling primordial atoms which we find in the *Pratyak* of the

Śāhikya,¹ and in the atomic diplomacy of Kaṇṭalya. Leaving aside this problem, tempting to students of pure philosophy, we shall analyse the conception of Kaṇṭalya.

These seven *Pratyak* are :—

1. The sovereign (*Svādēva*).
2. The ministers (*Amātya*).
3. The country (*Jamapada*).
4. The fortresses (*Durga*).
5. The treasury (*Kaśa*).
6. The army (*Dasya*).
7. The allies (*Mitra*).

These are according to Kaṇṭalya the veritable elements of all sovereignty. But some centuries later Kṛṇapāṇa, who is a pundit and not a politician, gives in his *Niṭharṇa*, a résumé in verse of the *Arthaśāstra* and does not seem to realise the comprehensiveness of the definitions of Kaṇṭalya. Kṛṇapāṇa enumerates indeed the seven elements but in following his conclusions he narrows down the general idea of sovereignty (*Rājyamāpat*) to that of a kingdom (*Rājya*). He forgets that the kingdom is already one among these elements and thus he confounds the part with the whole. But his smallest commentator Śaṅkarakṛya who seems to have studied profoundly the text of Kaṇṭalya, partly corrects the error of Kṛṇapāṇa by returning to the original conception of the elements (*Upādēva*) at their state of integration and of disintegration (*Yoga*). The theory of seven elements appears also in Manu (ix. 804), Yājñavalkya (i. 331) in the *Māhātmya* (ix. 69-70) and the *Śāstra* (i. 61). But in *Śāstra*² these *Pratyak* are defined as ten functionaries.

Finally the word *Pratyak* finds a place in the lexicon of the *Amaraśāstra* :

राज्यमायमहर्कोषराज्य दूरद्वयमिव³

Then Kaṇṭalya characterises every one of these elements, and the sovereign (*Svādēva*) appears as the centre of the whole system.

एवमप्रत्येकं प्रकृतत्वात् साक्षात् समिपत्वात् .

¹ Vide Dr. Bhandarkar's *Essay*, *The Political Science of the Ancient Hindus*, *Smārta-Hindu system*.

² §. 71-72.

³ Compare with *Śāstra*, *Śāstra*, viii. 107 *प्रत्येकप्रत्येकं* Manu, ix. 804-807.

Here Śāṅkhārīryya (on Kāmapāda, iv, 1) following Kaṭyāya is in accordance with all the other schools. The first question put by Yudhiṣṭhira to Bhīṣma (*AśM* ch. III, 1) on royal diplomacy was: 'Why a certain person who is subject to both birth and death, and who possesses the same qualities as others, is placed at the head of others?' In reply (*AśM* ch. III) Bhīṣma represents royalty as the last remedy against anarchy (*Atakyaṃśaya*). He tells how the social contract with the first king Manu secured the life and property of the people.¹ The same argument in favour of monarchy is given in Manu (vii), Kāmapāda (i, 11) and the *Sāhwaṇī* (i) with simple variations. It is dangerous to affirm that such a one is borrowed from such another. They appear to have come from that mysterious source of Hindu wisdom—, oral tradition which transmitted a vast collection of floating truths long before the schools and the schoolmen.

Just because kingship is an exalted privilege it carries with it grave responsibilities. Nowhere is this point better developed than in the employment of time as indicated by Kaṭyāya for the king. In the section on diplomacy he gives the first place wholly to the necessary virtues of the king (*Śaśtri Śaśtri*).

There he follows the footsteps of his two great masters, Śakra and Bṛhaspati. According to one stanza of the *Sāhwaṇī* (i. 31)² the king has at first to discipline himself, afterwards discipline his sons, then his ministers, his officers and lastly his subjects. Also the *Bṛhaspatiśāhwaṇī* (i. 1) begins with the *śūtra*, अविनाशाय कृत्वा³ and Kaṭyāya seems to have written only one *Bhāṣya* (commentary) on this point in his first chapter on diplomacy. We find there a veritable catalogue of the royal virtues carefully classified:

(a) The qualities which attract partisans to the king (*Atakyaṃśaya gaurāṇā*): noble birth, luck, intelligence, heroism, habit of taking counsel from the aged, piety, sincerity, fidelity, gratefulness, magnanimity, great energy, propiety, possession of powerful (or disciplined) vassals, resolution, aptitude of drawing near himself the broadminded people, and lastly love of discipline.

¹ The same history is repeated in the *Arthashastra* (I. 6) although it is presented as a given fact checked or verified by the decisions of kingship and to restrain them to obedience.

² Cp. *AśM*, xxviii. 32-33.

³ Cp. with शुभं करोति शुभं *Ar. AśM*, II, 1.

(*β*) The intellectual qualities (*Prājña gṛaṇā*)¹ curiosity, attention, assimilation, memory, discernment, reasoned choice (*Īśa-jñā*) and passion for truth (*Tattvabhinirūḍa*)

(*γ*) The signs of energy (*Uttāraguṇā*)² courage, pride (*Anarjya* or impatience under humiliation), promptitude, competence (*Dakṣya*)

(*δ*) The personal qualities (*Ātmasaṃpatt*)³ he must be prudent (or eloquent), spiritual, of good memory and vigorous intelligence, of imposing presence, master of himself, master of different arts (*Kṛtsaṃjña*), he must employ the punishment, etc. . In moments of danger, do good to the good and harm to the wicked; be moderate, capable of preventing public dangers; he must see profoundly and ahead (*Abhigatārtanūjñā*),⁴ expert in what concerns the place (*Dhā*), time (*Kālā*) and personal initiative (*Parasādhara*), the treaties (*Sandhā*) and wars (*Vijyā*), the concessions (*Tyāga*), the reserves (*Saṃyama*) and agreement (*Praya*); he must be sharp to discover the weak points of the enemy; measured in his emotions, disguised in manifestations of his fatigue, of his anger, etc. , free from passions, from irritability, greed, arrogance, indolence, inconstancy, impatience and cruelty, and he must be ready to speak first with a smiling countenance, agreeable to the counsels of the ascetics.⁵

This respectable list of virtues is almost entirely reproduced in verse by Kṛṣṇaśloka,⁶ and his excellent commentator Saṃkṛāntīya quotes from time to time the original text of Kaṇṭhya, drawing our attention to the alterations due to the requirements of the metre in Kṛṣṇaśloka. Thus the group (*α*) is reproduced in Yāgyavalkya I. 308, 310. The *Saṃkṛāntī* also contains the echoes of the pharmacology of Kaṇṭhya. Lastly when the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁷ enumerates the catalogue of the virtues of an heir-apparent, it reproduces the list of choice virtues mentioned in the four groups of Kaṇṭhya. On the other hand,⁸ the counsels of the venerable King Daśaratha to his son Rāma, accepted as the succeeding prince by the people, are in perfect harmony with the principles of the *Arthasāstra*⁹ such as they are formulated in the brief and profound paragraph entitled the conduct of a saintly king (*Rājaraśivṛttam*)

¹ Cp. *Sūtra*, II. 22-23.

² Cp. *Sūtra*, I. 22, also *Āgāra*, VII. 10, 27-28.

³ *S. 2*, 30-44, . . . *Ātmasaṃpatt*, I. 2, 45-48.

⁴ *Sūtra*, II. 45-48.

⁵ *Id.* 2-23.

⁶ I. 2.

⁷ I. 2.

⁸ I. 2.

⁹ I. 2.

'The ideal king must first conquer his losses by winning over the group of six moral enemies - (*Ṣiṣṭhaḥṣaḥ*), he must acquire wisdom (*Prasā*) by associating with the aged (*Bṛhhaspatisya*), he must see by means of his eyes (*Cakṣu*), be attentive towards acquisition and energetic to consolidate what is thus acquired (*Jyotiḥsamādhava*), he must defend the respective duties of the four orders (*Śraddharmanādhava*)² by proper administration, and attain self-mastery (*Vinaya*) by cultivating the sciences (*Śāstrapadya*), he must endow himself to the people (*Lokaḥpaya*) by ensuring them profits, and must regulate his conduct by considerations of general welfare' (*Hitāya Vritt*)³

This solicitude to win the goodwill of the people is the strongest guarantee against despotism. Therefore all the manuals on Nīti insist on this point and Kāmandaka⁴ has faithfully conserved this tradition when he gives this significant title. The 'manner of winning the subjects' (*Prasādanīti*). For success in this line, the king must sacrifice his vanity, and then by the positive virtues of Chakṣuṣa, he will be able to conquer the whole world. His very enemies will be transformed into good friends. This idea is found also in Aśvaghoṣa who gives an ideal portrait of king Śuddhodhana, the father of the Buddha.⁵ It is developed later on in the poetic sketch of the great kings like Dilīpa, Raghu, Daśaratha, Aśoka outlined by Kālidāsa in his epic of *Raghuvamśa*.

The king, even if he were to be perfect, cannot bear alone the burdens of Government. Hence the necessity of ministers,⁶ and other functionaries. Kaṇva⁷ lays down as a principle that sovereignty depends on co-operation; a single wheel cannot suffice. The king must elect the ministers and follow their counsels.⁸ His predecessors, Byāspati and Śakra both attribute the same importance to the ministers and to those who help them. Byāspati, indeed, immediately after his first *śloka* on the king, and that the king must choose as ministers those who are masters of themselves. The king must not do what he thinks right, if it had not the

² Cf. *Śārngayāna*, II 25.

³ Cf. the *śloka* of Kātyāya and Nīti *śloka* of Asoka's inscriptions, and *Kalyāṇīkavya* of the Kālidāsa.

⁴ II. 20-21.

⁵ Cf. *Śuddhodhana*, I. 1-44; I. 6.

⁶ *Manu*, vi. 24, *Vijaya*, II. 71.

⁷ *Śārngayāna*, I. 2.

⁸ Cf. *Yājñ*, I. 111.

approval of the majority. He may, however, do it if men of experience recommend it.¹

Likewise the second book of the *Sabramiti* commences with a *śloka* which appears with a slight variation in the *Śautisparva* of the *Mahābhārata*.² If, for a petty action, it is difficult to achieve the task alone, how could one without co-operation cope with the great task of Government? Therefore even if the king is versed in all the sciences, and expert in diplomacy, he should never discuss the problems of *Artha* without his councillors. Thus the second Chapter of the *Sabramiti*³ devotes the *śloka* from 71 to 109 to the higher officials and the *śloka* 110 to 170 to the smaller officials. That text rivals the second chapter, *Adhyakṣaprasāra*⁴ of Kaṭyāya, on the same subject, if not in quality, at least in extent. The *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵ also, when it describes the ministers of King Daśaratha, summarises the essential virtues of ministers according to the rules of Kaṭyāya. But the latter is superior in all the other texts on that point because Kaṭyāya conserves the different theories of diverse schools on the subject of the creation of ministers.⁶

Bhāradvāja says :—

'The king shall choose his ministers from among his companions of study for their purity (*Śrama*) and capacity (*Samartha*) are well known. He can have confidence in them.'

'No,' says Viśvākṣa, 'spoh men, being playmates shall dominate the king. the ministers shall be chosen from those whose private character is known to the king who shares their vices and virtues. They will thus be afraid to injure the king who knows their hearts.'

'But the danger is reciprocal,' says Parīkṣa, 'because the king will have to follow them in their bad as well as in good actions, since they know his secrets as well. So long as the king fears, lest the people should know his secrets, he is independent only in theory. Let those only be ministers who serve the king in his dangers, even at the peril of their lives, for their loyalty is proved.'

'No,' says Piśuṇa, 'this is loyalty but not intellectual capacity (*Buddhigraha*). Those who are experts in the financial matters,

¹ *Dr. MN.* I, 2, 4, 3 and vi, 2, 5.

² *Op. Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 380.

³ I, 2, 9-10 ; II, 100, 4.

⁴ *Text.* I, *Māta*, vi, 22.

⁵ *Dr. MN.* vi, 21 with *Madhuchūdi*.

⁶ *Dr. MN.* I, 4, 2.

who maintain steadily the level of profits and even produce a surplus, such men are to be appointed ministers, for their equality is proved.¹

'No,' says Kampananta, 'such people are devoid of other ministerial qualities. The king must have hereditary ministers, for even if they act wrongly they will never abandon the king, for they know his glorious actions and respect the family relations which bind them (*Sagana-hatva*). It is the same even in animal species: the cattle remains always with its own herd and leaves that with which it has no bond.'²

'No,' says Vātsyādhī, 'for these hereditary men would domineer over all and act as the king himself. The king shall choose, on the contrary, new ministers versed in politics. Such ministers would dare not offend the king since they would consider him as Yama, the god of Justice, the strong upholder of the sceptre of discipline.'³

'No,' says Bāhudevīputra, 'for a mere theorist of political literature would bring disasters through lack of experience in the matter of good and bad actions. The ministers shall be chosen from among those who are noble by birth, wise, honest, and pure,⁴ heroic and loyal and chosen only on consideration of their virtues.'⁵

'This,' says Kaṇva, 'is just from all considerations: the way of working proves personal worth in general.'⁶

Having thus fixed the method of choosing the ministers (*Amatya*), Kaṇva⁷ indicates the criteria to be employed in the choice of councillors (*Mantri*). The king shall verify the following points concerning them; domicile (*Janapada*) and local influence (*Agrata*) by means of persons worthy of credit; technical ability (*Śilpa*) and knowledge of the status by means of colleagues; wisdom (*Pratibha*), tenacity (*Dharmayujas*) and skill (*Dakṣa*) by means of practical test (*Karmavandita*); eloquence (*Vāgvid*), resourcefulness (*Pragallabha*) and ever-renewed talent (*Pratibhānaveśa*) by way of discussions; endurance (*Kṣiprasakṣa*), by means of the display of energy and heroism in case of danger; honesty (*Sauca*), smity (*Maitra*), proved loyalty (*Drṣṭabhabhiti*), by means of intimate association (*Satsamudhara*); conduct (*Śila*), strength (*Bala*), health (*Arōga*), powers of resistance (*Sattva*), application (*Yoga*), vigilance in work (*Atanubha*),

¹ Cp. *Ar. Śas.*, I, 8 cited by Bṛhaspati on *Manu*, vii, 24.

² Cp. *Ar. Śas.*, iv, 24-27.

³ *Ar. Śas.*, i, 2.

constancy (*Anupaya*) by means of intimate friends; affability (*Samapayata*) and absence of all hostile sentiment (*Anavritta*) by means of personal experience

By such standard of choice of capable and responsible ministers, the *Arthashastra* places itself high above the picture of the primitive and conservative constitution that we find in the literature of the school of law (*Dharma*). It would, however, be an error to conclude that the tradition of the school of *Artha* is but a late and amplified version of ancient traditions of the school of law. For it is possible that the theory of Government, inasmuch as it concerns directly the school of *Artha*, is more faithfully and completely preserved in the literature of that school than in that of the school of law. Everything in the latter is summarised and subordinated to the central theme, the *Rajadharma* which is but a section of the *Dharmasūtra*.¹

The third element is the country whose ideal qualities are enumerated thus :—

‘A beautiful country must be extensive, must support itself and support others, be able to defend itself, and be self sufficient in case of danger, to be reputable towards the enemies, to possess obedient vassals,² to be free from swamp, from rocks, from rock-salt, from unevenness, from thorny bushes, from forest abettors of tigers and wild beasts, to be pleasant, to have fertile furrows, to contain precious minerals, forest products, parks for elephants, pasturages for cattle; to be populous, to have hidden ways of access, to be rich in cattle,³ to be naturally irrigated, to be provided with routes on land and water, rich in valuable and various merchandise, capable of supporting military charges; having active agriculturists, intelligent masters and labourers, and a loyal and honest population.’

This description of an ideal country resembles the description of *Māhā Pambh* (I 2, v. 4). This classical Buddhist work, in a dialogue between a conquering prince and a learned savant reproduces numerous reminiscences of the *Arthashastra* as understood at that time. The earliest commentator *Modhūthi* takes, so to say, word for word, this section of Kautilya is commenting on Manu (vii. 56). The expression *Shakti* is defined by him as a synonym of a group comprising army, treasury, fortress and kingdom; but this seems to be a late

¹ Cp. Bühler, *Philosophy of the Śāstra*, Intro., § B. 3., etc. p. xiv.

² Cp. *Manu*, vii. 67, *Vijaya*, III. 4, 5.

³ Cp. *Vijaya*, I. 20.

refinement. He accepts *Rājya* as synonymous with *Janapada* after Kaṇva (li 2-3) and in his *Dakṣa smṛiti*, he uses the authorized text of Kaṇva almost with the same expressions. The commentaries on Manu (vii 30), Yājñavalkya (i 330) and Viṣṇu (iii 1) show an interesting parallel. Kāmaśāstra¹ has simply given in verse the text of Kaṇva.

The fortresses² have played a great rôle in primitive wars and naturally occupy an important place in the diplomacy of Kaṇva. Curiously enough the description of an ideal country immediately followed by that of a fortress considered as a glorious crowning moon, is found in Kaṇva as well as in the Mūlaka Purāṇa (v 4). The similarity is striking, if not in the phraseology, at least in contents especially in what concern the construction and decoration of fortress-cities. Leaving the architecture of the fortresses of Kaṇva to the students of Hindu Archaeology, we would give only the diplomatic utility of such fortresses.

Kaṇva³ classifies these in four groups:—

(a) Those which are in an island or on a plain in the midst of a low country (*Ardeha*),

(b) those which are on rocks or in caves (*Āraśa*);

(c) those which have no water-course or walls (*Dharmā*);

(d) those which are in forests with the water-course known only to the inhabitants (*Vana*).

Among these (a) and (b) are defenses of inhabited country, whilst (c) and (d) are those of desert or forest countries. This classification is faithfully preserved by Kāmaśāstra⁴ and is shown with slight variations in the following texts:—

Manu, vii 70-71.

Mahābhārata, xii. ch. 87, 4-5.

Sūtra, vi. 3.

*The treasury*⁵ - The treasury ought to have been acquired honestly⁶ by the king himself or his predecessors, must be rich in gold and silver, must possess diverse and vast collections of jewels (*Ratna*) and coins (*Hirṇya*), be capable of riding over misfortunes and the stoppage of supplies of long duration.

¹ iv. 31-32.

² 3: 31.

³ Cp. Smṛ., iv. 31-32.

⁴ Ar. Smṛ., ii. 11, 33; cp. Arat. Purāṇa, ch. 21.

⁵ iv. 31, 32.

⁶ Cp. Manu, vii. 30; Yājñ., i. 330.

The Army.¹ The army must be hereditary and permanent. The soldier must be obedient and contented. He must be able to support his family and children. Far from being demoralised, as it happens, in foreign service, the army must be redoubtable in all circumstances, accustomed to fatigue, experienced in several combats and in the science of arms, entirely loyal in adversity as well as in prosperity, having a common purpose, and being mainly composed of Kshatriyas.

The Allies.² The allies ought to be hereditary, permanent, obedient, and loyal; they must act with promptitude and vigour.

The qualities of allies are developed by Kautilya in the section on alliances.³

These seven elements form the basis in the diplomacy of Kautilya, and these he has emphasised at the end of this section.

The king who is a master of himself develops the elements which were little prosperous. On the contrary a king who is not a master of himself, destroys his elements, even though they were prosperous and loyal.

Thus the king who has at his disposal only bad elements and who is not a master of himself, though he is the master of the four corners of the world, is exposed to assassination by his subjects or falling into the hand of his enemies.

Such a king, stupid, and devoid of character, is considered as easy to conquer. The diagnosis is formulated under the title:

'Desirable qualities in an enemy.'

II

THE SYSTEM OF ACTION

(*Ar. Śau.*, vi. 87; *op. Kām.*, viii; *Sūtra*, iv. 1; *Agad Parāya*, ch. 232; *Yajñe*, I. 344, Comm.; *Mānu*, vii. 154-158, Comm.)

Having thus established the basis of diplomacy, Kautilya defines its jurisdiction which he calls the *śāstra*, the circle of states. It is almost a commonplace of Hindu political literature to describe diplomatic relations in term of the number of states which play the rôle of allies or enemies, conformably to their actual relations in space. It leads us to consider scores of friendship or enmity of different grades and

¹ *Op. Kām.* iv. 88-89; *Sūtra*, iv. 7.

² *Op. Kām.* iv. 88-89.

³ *Ar. Śau.*, vii. 114.

shades. The centre of the circle is composed of the conquering king (*Vijigīṣu*), and his immediate enemy (*Arī*), and, on the circumference, the different *saṃpāka* of other states follow their orbits described in accordance with the laws of attraction and repulsion that are primordial and fatalistic.¹ This is probably the reflection of the ancient astronomical theories on the movements of stars and planets. The conception of *Maṃpāka* is essentially dynamical.

The states are as follows:—

1. the central conquering state (*Vijigīṣu*),
2. the central enemy (*Arī*);
3. the primary ally of No. 1 (*Aśvīna*),
4. the primary ally of No. 2 (*Arasvīna*);
5. the ally of the ally of No. 1 (*Aśvīnaśvīna*),
6. the ally of the ally of No. 2 (*Arasvīnaśvīna*);
7. the enemies in the rear (*Pārivṛtṭāka*, those who catch the heels),
8. the friends in the rear (*Āhrasvīna*);
9. the friends of the enemies in the rear (*Pārivṛtṭākaśvīna*);
10. the friends of the friends in the rear (*Āhrasvīnaśvīna*).

Thus the first two are surrounded by the eight others and form with them the ten diplomatic scenes. Kaṭalya adds to these two more exterior scenes.²

11. the intermediate power (*Māṃpāka*);
12. the neutral king (*Uśman*).

In this way are formed the dozen royal elements (*Rājaprabhīti*).³

Every one of them possesses five out of the seven fundamental elements (*Dvayaśabdhīti*),⁴ without counting the king and the ally; this gives sixty elements, plus twelve kings, making a total of seventy-two.

Kaṃpāka discusses this question of *saṃpāka* in chapter xviii by giving different definitions, in accordance with several schools which Kaṭalya has not mentioned; for example, the school of Manu; Gāruḍa (*Bhāṣaṭī*); Kavi (*Śakra*) Viśākṣa, etc.

Here are some definitions⁵ of the essential elements given by Kaṭalya.

¹ Cp. Śakra, iv. 1, 8-11.

² Cp. Śakra, iv. 1, 39-42.

³ Cp. the definitions of Kṛtavyāka and Śarvāṇa on *śarvāṇa*, II. 2, *śarvāṇaśvīna*.

⁴ Cp. Manu, vi. 128-129, Comm.

⁵ Cp. Maṃpāka on Manu, vii. 128.

The conqueror is a king who is master of himself, who is possessed of the fundamental elements and who understands diplomacy.¹

The enemy is a king who is possessed of hostile qualities and resources.² The intermediate is a king who possesses the territories adjoining to those of the conqueror, and to those of the enemy, and who is capable of assisting, or injuring by joining the one or the other. The neutral king is one who is outside the territories of the three preceding kings, and who being very powerful is capable of assisting the three kings either by joining them or of injuring them by fighting.

These are the four great circles (*Chakras*). Each of them finds its power and success according to its wealth of elements. Power signifies force; and success signifies prosperity.³

The power (*Śakti*) is of three sorts.⁴

1. Power of counsel (*Māntrosūkt* : *sp* मन्त्रसूक्ते विद्युः); intellectual force.⁵
2. Power of lordship (*Prasādhāt*); force of treasury and of army.
3. Power of action (*Utsādhāt*); force of heroism.⁶

Success (*Śiddhi*) is defined likewise. For all the masters of the (*Mahāraja*) there are three fundamental considerations.

1. The decline (*Kṣaya*).
2. The equilibrium (*Māna*)
3. The prosperity (*Vṛddhi*)

In that respect what concerns good conduct and its opposite (*Nayāśānta*) belongs to human action (*Mānasa*). That which concerns good luck and bad luck (*Ayānta*) belongs to divine action (*Devata*).

The world is governed by divine and human actions.⁷

The divine action cannot be foreseen. In consequence, to obtain a result which we did not expect is good luck (*Aya*). The human action can be foreseen. Consequently good success depends on the acquisition and consolidation of habits (*Naya*).⁸

Success is due to good conduct and failure due to its absence. Both

¹ *Yama*, vii. 16-18.

² *Cp. Śukra*, II. 1.

³ *Mr. NMA*, iv. 32.

⁴ *Cp. Maṇu*, vii. 308; *Yajña*, i. 348.

⁵ *Cp. Maṇu*, vii. 316.

⁶ *Cp. Arjuna*, vii. 19, *Contra*.

⁷ *Cp. Maṇu*, ix. 308.

⁸ *Cp. Mr. NMA*, vi. 1.

depend on human reason; but the divine action surpasses them. The tranquillity (*Śānta*) and the activity (*Pravṛtta*) are the principles of acquisition.¹ *Yoga*, and of consolidation *Karma*.² Activity secures the acquisition of the desired object.³ Tranquillity secures the consolidation of the fruits of action.⁴ Activity and the tranquillity have as a principle of operation the sixfold method (*Ṣaḍgūṇa*).

At the end of this section, Kaṭiāya explains the conception of the *saṃpāda* and of the conquering king who is its centre.

'In the *saṃpāda*, the master of the circle constitutes the outer ring with those who are beyond, the radii with his neighbours, and the nave by himself.'⁵

The sixfold method to which Kaṭiāya has first alluded is explained in the succeeding chapter of Kaṭiāya which we propose to give in full.

THE SIXFOLD METHOD (*Ṣaḍgūṇa*)

Ar. Śar., vi. 98-100; cp. *Agri Parāṇa*, chs. 233, 230; *Manu*, vii. 183-186, Comm., *AśB.*, ch. xv, vi. 1-12, *Bhāṣa*, iv. 7 (232).

Enumeration of the six-fold political methods, determination of decline, of equilibrium and of progress.

The source of the sixfold policy is the circle of elements.

The entente, the war, the equilibrium, the expedition, the alliance and the double relations, form the sixfold policy; thus speak the masters. 'There are only two methods,' says Vātsyāyāhi. The war and the entente form the basis of the sixfold policy.

'Rather six methods,' says Kaṭiāya,⁶ 'because of their different characteristics.' These are: in case of entente (*Samāha*) reciprocal stipulation (*Parasamāha*),⁷ in case of war (*Yuga*) the attack, the balance of power (*Arāṇa*) which signifies indifference (*Upekṣa*), the expedition (*Yāna*) which shows expansion, the support (*Saṃśraya*) which consists in resting on another, the double relation (*Dvandvīkṣāna*) which is to make peace with the one and war with the other;⁸ such are the six methods.

He who is humiliated by the enemy ought to come to terms, and he who is powerful ought to make the war.

¹ *Op. Manu*, vii. 98, 301.

² *Op. Śaṅkara*, *22d. Śr.*, ix. 28.

³ *Op. Śaṅkara*, ix. 12, Comm.

⁴ *Op. Śaṅkara*, vii. 21, Comm.

⁵ *Op. Yāgya*, i. 325.

⁶ *Op. AśB.*, xii. 42, 20, 21.

⁷ *Op. Manu*, vi. 14-16, Comm.

⁸ *Op. Manu*, vii. 122, Comm.

'My enemy cannot ruin me and I cannot ruin him.' In that case we must apply the method of equilibrium.

When one is possessed of superior resources, one ought to undertake an expedition.

When one is deprived of force, he must look for support. In an action where success depends on support, one must practise the method of double relations. Such are the circumstances that determine these methods.

Among these methods, one shall stick to that which permits of development of one's fortresses, the embankments (for irrigation), the commercial routes, the colonisation of deserted regions, the production of minerals, the reserves for elephants, etc., and at the same time ruin all these things of the enemy. This signifies progress.¹

One may see without anxiety the progress of the enemy by arguing thus: 'my progress will be more rapid and greater than his, whilst it will be contrary with the enemy.'

One must have recourse to the entente (*Sandhi*) when progress produces simultaneously equal results to both.

When one witnesses the failure of his own affairs and not those of the enemy, he must not remain idle for he is on the decline.

In course of time my decline will be less and will lead to prosperity, while it would be contrary to the enemy.'

When one knows that one may decline his own (temporary) decline. One shall have recourse to entente when the decline produces simultaneously equal results to both.

When one perceives in his own efforts neither progress nor decline, it is the state of equilibrium (stagnation).

One may scorn his own equilibrium (stagnation) when one knows that his will be shorter and it will produce greater results while it will be contrary with the enemy.

'One ought to have recourse to entente when the policy of equilibrium produces simultaneously equal results to both,' say the masters. 'This is not unreasonable,' says Kantalya.

One must stick to the entente in time of prosperity under the following conditions:—

'By employing the policy of entente (*Sandhi*), I may ruin the works of the enemy by my great activity, I shall enjoy the profits of my

¹ *Ap. Medhant on Manu*, vii. 100; *MAHABHARATA on Bhishm*, xvi. 61.

activity or those of the enemy ; profiting by the trust of the enemy in the contents, I shall ruin his works, by intrigue, magic and espionage in order to win the people who supply my adversary with the means of action ; I shall offer favours (*Angraha*), humilities (*Pariksha*) and facilities (*Sankhya*) to profit by the prosperity of my works. Or my enemy being allied with a greater power will find himself ruined by his own enterprises, or fighting against another enemy, he will endeavour to obtain my alliance so that I would prolong his campaign, or the enemy would harass the kingdom which, though allied with me, is hostile ; or that the oppressed subjects of my enemy will come to me and thus I shall succeed in my enterprises. Entangled in his affairs and dragged down by a crisis, my enemy will be incapable of thwarting my affairs. Being allied with two of the adversaries of my enemy, I shall augment my resources, or if harassed by the enemy, I shall conclude an agreement, and then I shall break up the circle of the states and shall win them over to my side when they are divided ; or, mastering the enemy by favours or punishments, I shall make him hateful for his ambition to dominate the circle of states and when he will be hated by all I shall destroy him.'

One shall hold by war to attain prosperity, in the following conditions : ' My country is full of warriors and of corporations, it is defended by the rocks, forests, rivers, fortresses, ways of unique access, thus it will be capable of resisting the efforts of the enemy on the frontiers while I screen myself behind impregnable fortresses : losing his energy in calamities and troubles, my enemy will be ruined during the calculated period, or whilst he would attack me in another direction, I may seduce his subjects (or induce them to come and settle in my country).'

One shall hold to the policy of equilibrium for prosperity in consideration of what follows : ' The enemy cannot injure my affairs nor I, his. It is as it were, a combat between a dog and a wild boar which could terminate only in fruitless efforts. Concentrating therefore in my own enterprises, I should try to prosper.'

One should undertake the expedition for prosperity after considering what follows. ' The destruction of the works of the enemy depends on the expedition, and it is in my power to safeguard my own enterprises.'

If one notices that one is neither capable of ruining the affairs of

the enemy not safeguarding his own affairs from ruin, then one shall rely on a stronger power with a view to pass from decline to equilibrium and from that to prosperity.

One should hold to the double policy for prosperity in the following conditions. 'On the one hand in observing the omens I shall promote my affairs and on the other hand by declaring war, I shall ruin the affairs of the enemy.'

In this way, in the diplomatic circle, one should endeavour to push his own enterprises from decline to equilibrium, and from equilibrium to prosperity¹ by means of these six methods.²

METHOD OF ALLIANCE (*Sandrapasūttā*)

Ar. Śm., vi. 100; *op. Bha.*, xi. 24-27

Among these six methods, Kaṇva discourses first the method of alliance. As befits a practical politician he views the problem from the utilitarian point of view. 'One must make alliance with a power stronger than the neighbour.'³ If there is none one must ally himself with the neighbours, and one must endeavour to furnish them in secret with money, army or a part of the territory. It is dangerous for the king to ally himself with a strong power except in case of a sudden attack on the part of the enemy.⁴

When a king, in a moment of distress, is obliged to accept a humiliating alliance he is advised to break this alliance at the first opportunity, when his ally is in a disadvantageous situation.

When a king is placed between two powerful kings, he should lean on him who can defend him or on him who, notwithstanding his weakness, can serve as an intermediary.

He may also ally with both at the same time with a view to divide and then to destroy them by secret blows. A king placed between two powers (*Antarāts*) shall attempt to draw each of them to form a *saṃpāts* and after having subdued the one, he must destroy the other or both.

In spite of his utilitarian attitude, Kaṇva is not indifferent to the moral value of an alliance.

'If one is about to be uprooted by two kings, one shall lean on the power whose conduct is more upright (*Nyayaparāts*),⁵ a mediator king, a neutral king or one of their partisans.'

¹ *Ar.*, vi. 100, sh. 21.

² *Op. Govindarāja on Manu*, vi. 101. *Ar.*, vi. 100, sh. 21-24.

³ *Op. Govindarāja on Manu*, vi. 101.

⁴ *Op. Śāstra*, iv. 7, 20.

In conclusion Kaṇvaḥ indicates as the solid basis of alliance, reciprocal sympathy.

'Those who like each other go together. That is the best way of making an alliance.'

METHOD OF ENTENTE (*Sandhi*)

Ar. Śā., vi. 103-102

Though war seems inevitable to Kaṇvaḥ, we notice that he seeks always to avoid or arrest war by every kind of entente. We also see that the entente occupies the most important place in his system. He classifies with care in several chapters the ententes which result either from war or from peaceful combinations.

Since the quality of ententes¹ varies according to the power of the parties concerned, Kaṇvaḥ classifies them as follows:—

1. equal;
2. inferior (of less strength),
3. superior (of more strength).

On this point, Kaṇvaḥ makes a few observations: 'One should conclude an entente with an equal or with a greater power, but should make war with the inferior powers.'² 'If the stronger power does not accept the entente one should accept the position of the conquered.' If a king of equal power is not amenable to an entente, one must return to him all the harm he has done. The glow (*Tilak*) of fire and of glory makes union possible. A piece of iron which has not been heated in fire cannot be soldered with another piece of iron. If a king of inferior force remains always subservient, one must maintain the entente: for otherwise the strength growing out of suffering and resentment breaks out as fire in the forest and such a king brings round the circle of states to him. If while fighting one finds .

'The subjects of the enemy are greedy, impoverished, and oppressed, and yet do not come to me even when they are haunted by fear of war,'—one must make the entente even if he is the stronger party. He must seek to pacify the troubles due to the war.

Even the stronger king should make the entente in case he is equally in danger with his adversary; or if he argues thus: 'I am greatly embarrassed, the enemy is less so and he can easily repair the troubles arising from his elements.'

¹ Cp. *Ar. Śā.*, vi. 103 (37).

² Cp. *Mālikaṭha* on *Raghu*, vii. 25.

Afterwards Kautilya gives a classification of ententes which can be concluded by inferior kings when they are greatly humiliated.¹

A weak king attacked by a strong one who is supported by his circle, must yield immediately and make the entente by delivering the treasury, army, his person or a portion of his territory.

When one offers himself with an army specified beforehand, or with the best part of his army, it is called the entente in which one is the victim furnishing his own flesh (*Aśmāsaka*). When one offers his general or the heir-apparent it is called the entente of a third person, (*Parasakara*); in that case one guarantees without delivering himself.

If one has the choice of withdrawing alone with one's army, that entente is said to be of 'invisible person' (*Aśraṣṭakṛta*) where one saves his own life and also that of the general.

The notables² and the high class ladies (*Aśakhyantṛ*)³ of the court in the two first species of the entente, must be delivered as hostages. In the latter forms of the entente the settlement with the enemy is in secret. Such are the forms of the entente founded on the surrender of an army (*Dagdā*).

When the treasury only is delivered and one is allowed to preserve the rest of his elements, his is an entente of money (*Parīkṛpa*), which depends on chance.

When one is to submit to heavy and varied charges it is called the entente of confiscation (*Upagṛaha*). This is harmful in space and in time and exposes the state to bankruptcy (*Atyaya*).

The entente of gold (*Śevakṛpa*) is that which can be easily borne, is point of view of indemnity, which is beneficial for the future and which does not require women hostages, which is founded on complete accord (*Āśāśānta*) and which results from mutual confidence.

The opposite kind of entente is called the entente of upturned cups (*Kapāla*), owing to the excessive indemnities (*Atyakṛpa*) which are exacted.

In the two first cases, one shall have to give up the forest products, elephants and horses with their harnesses. In the third case one should offer one half only by pretending bankruptcy. In the fourth case one should stop payment. Such are the ententes based on the

¹ Cp. Kām . II, 2-20.

² Cp. *Ar Śū* , p. 214.

³ Cp. *Mān*, vii. 212; *Āśā*, xii, ch. 27 (41).

surrender of the treasury (*Ksh*). The surrender of a part of the territory to save the other parts is called the *entente* by cession or by order (*Adhika*). This is advantageous for him who desires the occupation of thieves and secret criminals in the surrendered parts of his territories. The private *entente* of profit (*Uchhata*) is that which demands the cession of all the territory and its total exploitation, the capital only being excepted. This is advantageous for him who desires to create troubles in the enemy's country.

The liberation of the territory by the payment of revenues is called the *entente* of imposts (*Ashraya*). The liberation of revenue by the cession of territory is called the *entente* by homage (*Parabhiksha*). One must prefer the first form. The two last *ententes* based on the revenues of the land must be concluded only when one is powerless. Such are the *ententes* based on the surrender of territories (*Dada*):

These are the three different classes of *entente* for the inferior powers.

The *entente* between superior and inferior powers, following a war, is not the only one comprised in the system of Kautilya. There is also the *entente* between equals for peaceful purposes.

We could see it easily if we were to read the sections 101 and 102 and also 111, 112 and 113. The form and conditions of the *entente* change according to circumstances, but it is not necessary to change the definition of the *entente*, as Mr. Law has done in his *Intimate Relations in Ancient India*, pp. 38-40. The complication of his exposition is due to the fact that he translates *Sandhi* as 'an agreement of peace.' Thus he is obliged to change the definition in each case. But if we define *Sandhi* as *entente*, in the general sense of the word, everything becomes simple. Without attributing our interpretation to Kautilya, a risky method, we shall explain his system according to his own statements:

(a) *Entente* for obtaining the allies and money (*Mitra-Hiranya Sandhi*, *Ar. Sm.*, vii. 115).

(b) *Entente* for obtaining the territory (*Bhaga Sandhi*, *Ar. Sm.*, vii. 116).

(c) *Entente* for colonising the unoccupied territories (*Anuvaksha Sandhi*, *Ar. Sm.*, vii. 117).

(d) *Entente* for common enterprises (*Kurus Sandhi*, *Ar. Sm.*, vii. 118).

(d) Estimates of definite or indefinite periods and extents for betrayal (*Paripakṣa-paripakṣatāya Saṁdhi*, *Ar. Śā.*, vii. 111-112).

The common traits of the different ententes are—

(a) The existence of two parties apparently amicable but who attempt ever to take advantage of each other.

(b) The greater profit results always from superior intelligence, and the depth and extent of experience.

(c) Thus there is always a silent combat during which the ally becomes an enemy, or when the enemy becomes an ally.¹

According to Kaṁśalya profit is always the ultimate criterion.

In discussing this problem, Kaṁśalya presents us with his observations on the diplomatic relations. All his conclusions mark him as a wise statesman. At first he admits of three different kinds of ententes.²

(a) *Sama Saṁdhi* : equal entente, for example : 'you and I shall gain the allies together.'

(b) *Vijaya Saṁdhi* : an equal entente, for example : 'yourself alone will have the allies.'

(c) *Ahi Saṁdhi* : deceitful entente, for example, when one has the advantage to beguile the other completely.

After this he directly expresses his opinion on this question.

(d) Estimates for having allies and gold.³

'Which is preferable, immediate and small gain or deferred and important gain? The small and immediate gain is preferable inasmuch as it would serve the enterprise from the point of view of the place and time,' say the learned. 'No,' says Kaṁśalya, 'the gain, which is deferred without being lost, which produces good consequences and which is ultimately important, is preferable.' In exceptional cases only the first should be chosen. 'When one can balance the advantages of constant gain or partial gain, and can judge in advance his own interest, he should undertake an expedition with other powers combined and well-organised.'

The reasons which determine the preferences of Kaṁśalya are very remarkable, and these are expressed with the ardent conviction of an experienced politician.

'Which of the two is preferable (an ally rich in men or rich in gold)?'

¹ Cp. *Śāstra*, iv. 1, 2-3, *ASA*, vii. ch. 112 (102).

Ar. Śā. 112

² Cp. *Yājñ.*, i. 311; *Śāstra*, vii. 112-113.

'An ally rich in men is preferable, for he shall be the source of military glory and when he enters into action, he secures success. Such is the opinion of the learned.'

'No,' says Kaṭalya 'it is preferable to have an ally rich in wealth, for the possession of wealth secures a constant tie whilst the possession of an army is only for temporary employment. Moreover with wealth, one could procure an army as well as other things which are desired.'

'Which of the two is preferable, an ally who possesses wealth or one who possesses territories?'

'An ally who possesses wealth is preferable. Being conscientious, he will be brought round to meet the expenses,' say the learned.

'No,' says Kaṭalya, 'the allies and wealth are the results of the acquisition of territory, and consequently an ally who possesses territory is preferable.'

(B) *Exempts for gaining territories* :—

'Which is better, a rich territory adjoining that of a permanent enemy or a small fertile territory adjoining a temporary enemy?'

'A rich territory contiguous to that of a permanent enemy is preferable, for if it is prosperous it enriches the army and the treasury which are the two means of defence against the enemy: such is the opinion of the masters.'

'No,' says Kaṭalya, 'to have a permanent enemy means to have an ever-increasing enemy. For a permanent enemy, whether well or badly treated remains always an enemy, whilst the temporary enemy can be appeased by active good treatment or cessation of bad treatment.'

'Which is to be preferred, an isolated territory or non-isolated one; or a territory, which is protected by an external army (*Dandakāraṇa*) or one which protects itself (*Āmanakāraṇa*)?'

'That which protects itself is preferable, because it is supplied by gold and the army, collected by itself. On the contrary that which is defended by an external army is under military occupation (*Dandakāraṇa*).

'What is to be preferred, the acquisition of a territory belonging to a stupid king or a wise king?'

'We must prefer the acquisition made from a stupid king because

that territory is easy to acquire and to maintain, for it cannot be retained.'

'It is the reverse that results when the king is wise and possessed of loyal subjects.'

(C) Extents for colonising unshabited countries (cp. *Rajin*, xv. 23, Comm.).

'Of the two colonisers, he who colonises a land of recognised fertility and ever ready to produce better fruits, is the better.' 'Of two lands—one with mines and another with rice, that which contains mines fills the treasury. The rice land fills the treasury and the granary at the same time. The fortifications and other works are dependant on the production of rice. On the other hand, a mining country containing largely vendible substances is superior.'

Of two powers one possessing a park rich in forest products and another of a park for elephant, the first has the source of all sorts of enterprises which serve for investment of large capital. (*Prabhatasiddhanta*). The reverse is the case with forests rich in elephants, say the masters.

'No,' says Kaṇṭhiya, 'it is easy to plant an ordinary forest, in many parts of the country, but it is not so for forests of elephants; and the destruction of the party depends above all on elephants.'¹

'Which is better, a country peopled in groups, or a country having a scattered population?

'The country of scattered people is better, for it facilitates administration and is not susceptible for intrigues with the enemy. It would be the contrary in a country where the population is in groups. The latter does not share the difficulties and if it is discontented, it becomes very dangerous.

'Which is better, the country which is defended by fortresses or that which is defended by the people?

'The kingdom defended by the people is better. The state depends on the people (*Parasandhi*). A barren country is like a barren cow: what can it produce?'

At the end of this section Kaṇṭhiya gives two new terms of extents:

The verbal extents (*Abhikṣa* *Spṛṣṭa*).

The open extents (*Abhikṣa* *Sandhi*).

¹ Cp. *Madhyama* on *Manu*, viii. 233.

Ar. Sh., p. 222.

(D) Motents for common enterprises (*Karṇasamāh*). In that form of entente as in all others, the parties concerned endeavour to outdo each other in profit-making.

At the close of this section, Kaṁṭalya formulates some general principles. The so-called allies are really rivals from the point of view of profit. For in the system of Kaṁṭalya, the sense of the term ally or enemy changes always according to circumstances.

'The success of enterprises of the enemy lies in the decline of the rival chief. Their non-success is to his advantage. In case of equal enterprises the conqueror suffers stagnation.'

'A small gain and a great loss, that is the decline. The contrary is the prosperity. Equality in profits and losses, that is stagnation.'

'Therefore in the works of fortifications, etc. . . . one shall endeavour to attain superiority by undertaking works of less expenses at the beginning, but of great profit for the future.' In case of works with mines, the choice of Kaṁṭalya is remarkable.

'If it is a question of mines, he who digs a mine of great yield, and of easy communications which occasion little expenses at the commencement, is superior to the other.

'Which is better, a small mine of very valuable products or a big mine productive of little value?'

'A small mine of very precious products is preferable for the diamonds, the gems, the pearls, the corals, the gold, the silver and other similar products admit of securing a great quantity of things of small value,' say the masters.

'No,' says Kaṁṭalya, 'for the products of small value are innumerable and inextinguishable, their possessor could purchase the small mines of precious products.'

When there is a question of recruiting among two different peoples the preference of Kaṁṭalya is no less interesting.

Between a multitude of indolent persons and a handful of brave men, better to have a small number of brave men. The result of the battle depends on the heroes. A few brave men defeat many weaklings, who once beaten cause the rout of their own army, say the masters.

No,' says Kaṁṭalya, 'a multitude of indolent persons occupied in various works, other than those in camp, form the backbone of the army in the battle and cannot be occupied by the enemy; moreover

they serve to spread terror by number. These indolent persons can, by the effect of discipline, catch the infection of courage, whilst the braver are few and it is impossible to increase their number.'

(B) Entente with definite terms, entente of indefinite terms, false entente.

In the course of the combined march, the partisans attempt always to take advantage of the other through weak points in the engagement.

(a) Entente of definite terms (*Pariphasia*).

'You march against his country, I march against that country' it means definite place.

'You fight during that length of time and I, during this length,—it means definite time.

'You effect so many works and myself so much'—it means definite object.

Thus with place and time, with time and purpose, with place and purpose, with place, time and purpose, are brought out the seven types of entente.

(B) Entente of indefinite terms (*Apariphasia*).

The enemy who has vices or troubles, passions and meannesses, indolence and ignorance, may be surpassed if one discerns how to profit by vagueness due to the non-fixation of the place, time and purpose. One must strike at the vulnerable points of the enemy under entente, while declaring to him 'we are allies.'

This is what is called the indefinite entente.

Next Kantalya gives an exposition of the four different stages in the evolution of the entente.²

(a) The desire to accomplish that which is not accomplished (*Akhyatarya*) signifies the restitution (*Pariphasia*) of one entente which does not exist, by the prosecution of peace and other methods, and by the stabilisation (*Awaribhava*) (of this entente) according to the relative forces of equal, inferior or superior powers.

(B) The confirmation of that which is already accomplished (*Kyadibhava*) signifies: the development of the entente concluded by means of amities and benefits (*Prayukta*) on both sides, by the accomplishment of the given pledges, by its execution and by its conservation, so that this entente is not dissolved through the enterprise of the enemy.

² *Ar. Sam.* vii. 111-112, p. 280.

(c) The destruction of that which is accomplished (*Nyavidāpaka*) after the manoeuvres of the enemy against the entente, have been effected by the spies and the traitors, denunciation of the entente.

(d) The revival of a ruined entente (*Avasthasahajaya*) signifies, the reconciliation effected by those who remove the grievances, for example, by the servants or friends. Kaṭalya, as a true politician, admits the value of any sort of individual in diplomatic negotiations. In this respect he appears remarkably courageous and rid of all prejudices. His predecessors advise us to forego the services of certain men, such as one who is bankrupt, who has lost his power, who misuses his talents, who is covetous, who has passion for vagabondage, who is wanting in confidence and who has many enemies. But Kaṭalya considers this as due to fear or lack of professional spirit and lack of patience towards the man. Whoever has a positively outrageous conduct should be abandoned; whoever annoys the enemy should be accepted; he who does equal harm to both, should be politically examined. This is the right attitude.

His tolerance embraces even his very deserters. He studies them with great care and classifies them.¹

(a) He who deserts his masters on account of their vices and returns on account of their virtues, he who abandons on account of the virtues of the enemies and returns on account of their vices, after due considerations should be reconciled.

(b) He who abandons or returns on account of his own faults and neglecting the virtues of both parties, abandons and returns without reason. Such an individual is too unsteady, and should not be taken back.

(c) He who abandons his master by reason of his faults and returns to him from the enemy by reason of his own faults must be examined according to the reasons of his returning.

(d) 'He who is employed by the enemy or desires to harm by reason of his vicious nature, or who knowing that he would be refused by the destruction of the enemy, comes back to me through fear of vengeance; or he who abandons me and my enemy when we determine to ruin each other; and comes back afterwards by reason of his aversion for enmity; such an individual having good intentions, should be welcomed.' In this way the Kaṭalya employs all sorts of individuals

¹ Cf. Kām., str. 44-45 and Mātṛhīpā on Mass., vii. 136.

for strengthening his cause, and when they appear unnecessary or dangerous he destroys them without any scruple. His detachment of spirit is indeed amazing.

CONCLUSION (*Sandhi Karma*) AND ASSOCIATION

(*Sandhinimitta*) OF ENTENTEN

(*As. Sm.*, vii. 122-127)

Under this title Kautilya gives towards the end a few interesting details about ententes.

'A treaty based on the integrity and the oath is unstable (*Cala*) but a treaty based on hostages (*Pratishāṭ*) and securities (*Pratigraha*) is stable (*Siddhanta*),' say the teachers.

'No,' says Kautilya, 'the entente based on the integrity and oath is stable in this world as well as in the other. It is only in the interest of this world that hostages and securities are admitted from the point of view of force. "We are united." It is in these terms that the ancient and virtuous sovereigns were in the habit of making allies. To avoid the non-observance of the entente, the kings allied themselves with oaths, swore by the fire, by the water, by the plough, by the stones of ramparts, by the shoulders of elephants, by the back of the horse, by the forefront of a chariot, by the arms, precious stones, grains, perfumes, poisons, gold (*Swarna*) and coins (*Paśasya*): "these objects," they said, "kill or abandon him who violates the oath." In anticipation of the violation of the oath the nobles, the holy men and the chief hostages (*Pratishāṭ*)¹ are imprisoned. In this case he who can capture as hostages those who can influence the enemy has an advantage over the other. The reverse case is disadvantageous. "The imprisonment of friends or nobles of the enemy is called the security (*Pratigraha*)."

'In that case, he who gives to the enemy a dangerous minister has an advantage over the other. The contrary case is disadvantageous. The enemy strikes surely and unexpectedly at the weak points of him who reposes entirely on the promise of security.

'In an entente based on the gift of children, whether sons or daughters, he who gives girls as hostages has an advantage on the other, for

¹ *Op. Sm.*, iv. 5, 124.

a girl can help to capture the enemy or to conquer him. The reverse results for him who gives a son '1

Then Kautilya makes an evaluation of the different types of prisons given in hostages and finally furnishes a great number of means by which a prince in hostage can escape and break off the entente.

'A king whose power is increasing, should attempt to break up the entente. The spies who accompany the prince in hostage disguised as artisans or artists (*Karunipharvanama*), by working with the enemy, shall effect the escape of the prince by digging an underground passage during the night. Actors, dancers, singers, instrumental musicians, buffoons, minstrels, swimmers and jugglers, established beforehand in the service of the enemy, must use their power to save the prince given in hostage. They must also arrange so as to be able to visit the prince's apartments at any hour, to stay there and to go out. Then the prince can escape under one of those disguises during the night.

'For the same, he could mislead prostitutes (*Rasaveda*) disguised as ladies.'2

'One shall escape also in carrying their instruments, vessels, or refuse, or by using the cooks, pastry-cook, swimmer, porter or menage man, maid-servant, hair-dresser, tailor, servant ;'3 one shall escape by carrying again some unnecessary things.

'If one is on the point of being captured, one shall endeavour to escape by the politic means, as by the gift of wealth, etc., or by employing poisoned food or by substituting another corpse to the body which the prince intends for the sacrifice of God Varuna, or finally by setting fire.'4

In the diplomatic system of Kautilya the espionage plays a significant rôle. He devotes several chapters to the organisation of espionage. In the first book, chapter vii (*Gaṇakaparvatipatti*), he gives the organisation and the classification of espionage. In chapter viii (*Gaṇakaparvatipatti*), he defines the employment of spies and all the disguises and subterfuges, without omitting false students, false mendicants, and false artists, employing secret codes (*Gaṇakapatti*) with symbolical signs (*Samśikṣit*).5 Thanks to the complicity with the minister, the spies can create confidence by communicating some-

¹ Cp. *Shukra*, II, 22.

² *Shukra*, II, 22-23.

³ *Shukra*, v, 12-13.

⁴ Cp. *Matsya*, vii, 127, *Upanishad*.

information on foreign affairs. The king employs them also for testing the sincerity and honesty of all these functionaries¹ including the ministers. They are useful not only in the internal affairs of the kingdom² but also in all sorts of diplomatic intrigues in the state's neighbours, enemies, intermediaries or neutrals³ (*Kṛtyakṛtya-śāsthrasamgraha*).⁴

In fact the work of Kautilya has become the greatest authority on espionage. That is why Māhātīthi, when treating of espionage, cites entirely one of the chapters⁵ of Kautilya, in commenting on the term (*Paṭyavarga*).⁶ However it seems that Māhātīthi employs another version of the *Arthashastra*. This explains the divergences which are seen in certain of his quotations. In reality the king must have depended so much on the espionage for realising the diplomatic situations that he was called (*Citrakṛtya*). 'He who has for eyes the spies.'⁷

¹ *Ar. Śā.*, I, 8.

² *Op. Ar. Śā.*, IV, *Kṛtyakṛtyasamgraha*, *Manu*, II, 322-323; *Manu*, II, 32-33.

³ *Ar. Śā.*, I, 9-10.

⁴ *VI*, I, 112-113 202; *op. Māhātīthi* on *Manu*, VII, 104, *Śāster*, v 267, *YKŚā*, I, 207.

⁵ *Manu*, VII, 124, *op. Vallabhi*, *Śāster dṛṣṭi Śāster*, vol VI, pp 1245-1247.

⁶ *Op. Māhātīthi*, III, ch 80 (31), *Plays*, IV 25-26.

(To be continued.)

Akbar's Cavalry—(1) The *Zai* and *Sawar* Ranks

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IN 1573, Akbar fixed the grades of the officers of the empire, and decreed that their salaries be paid in cash.¹ Of these office-bearers the chief were the *Mansabs* or holders of places of rank and profit. 10,000 was the highest and 10 the lowest *Mansab* that was granted, and commands above 5,000 were reserved to the princes of the royal blood. The *Mansabs* were given in accordance with the mark of men, and the soldiers they commanded.² A *Bisfi* (commander of twenty) had to be ready with his twenty soldiers at the muster before he could be promoted to the next rank,³ and every *Dahsahi* (commander of ten) had to muster three *Sahispari*, four *Damahi*, and three *Yahispari* troopers, that is ten troopers with twenty horses, and the other *Mansabs* in the same proportion.⁴

In 1595, a new classification was introduced by the addition of *Sawars* to the original *Mansab*. A *Mansabdar* whose *Sawars* were equal to his *Mansab* was put into the first class of his rank; one whose *Sawars* were one-half and upwards of his *Mansab*, was put into the second class; and the third class contained those whose *Sawars* were less than half the *Mansab*, or who had no *Sawars* at all.⁵ Officers above 5,000 were exempt from this division. Both Smith and Irvine restrict the second class to those whose *Sawars* were half the *Zai* rank.⁶ But in this they certainly commit a mistake, for we find *Mansabdars* with 3,500 *Zai*, 3,000 *Sawar*, and 3,500 *Zai*;⁷ 2,000 *Sawar* mentioned in the *Akbarname*, and these according to the *Ain-i-Akbari* must have been in the second class.

¹ *Akbarname*, English Translation (Bevenidge), vol. II, p. 107.

² *Akbarname*, vol. II, p. 108.

³ *Levy, Baburnama*, vol. II, p. 128.

⁴ *Hindustani, Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 203.

⁵ *Akbarname*, vol. II, p. 1021; *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 728.

⁶ *Army of the Moghuls*, p. 6; *Akbar*, p. 204.

⁷ *Akbarname*, vol. II, pp. 1230, 1240.

A good deal of controversy has been raging about the meanings of the words *Zai* and *Sawar*. Blochmann thinks that the *Zai* indicates the nominal rank, while *Sawar* connotes the actual number of horsemen; 'Irvine regards both the ranks as actually existing; while Mr. Ram Prasad Tripathi goes to the other extreme, and regards the *Zai* as the actual rank, and the *Sawar* as an honour which had no actual existence in horsemen, but 'indicated the rate of allowance, which was given to an officer honoured with the additional distinction.'² All the possible alternatives have thus been laid before us, and supported by the arguments brought forward by the writers named above. It is our business therefore to examine the main arguments advanced and come to one conclusion or the other.

Blochmann's view is hardly tenable. It is perhaps due to the fact that he has not perceived that the title *Muzahid-i-Zai* is nothing more than the *Muzahid* of 1573. That these two words are identical in significance can be proved by means of instances from contemporary history. In 1603, that is two years before the introduction of the new classification, Mirza Shahrukh was made a commander of 5,000,³ that is, according to the rules of 1573, as given by Badami and Abul Fazi, he was expected to keep 5,000 horsemen, and 10,000 horses. In the forty-first year of his reign, that is, one year after the introduction of the changes of 1605, the Emperor was much pleased with the Mirza and made him a commander of 5,000 *Zai*, 2,500 *Sawar*.⁴ Are we to suppose that Akbar's pleasure was signified by a decrease in the command of horsemen kept by the Mirza? In 1001 Higri, Rai Sai Darbad was a *Muzahid* of 2,000 and Ram Dass Kachhwaha one of 500.⁵ In the forty-seventh regnal year, Rai Sai was made a *Muzahid* of 2,500 *Zai*, 1,250 *Sawar*,⁶ and in the fiftyeth regnal year Ram Dass Kachhwaha was made a commander of 2,000 *Zai*, 800 horse.⁷ Are we again to conclude that the real command of these men was largely decreased, while their mere dignity was raised? Blochmann's view leads to some other strange conclusions too. In his scheme of

² Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 541.

³ *Proceedings of the Meetings of Indian Historical Records Commission*, vol. p. 285.

⁴ *Akbarnameh*, vol. II, p. 691.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1699.

⁶ *Muzammidin*, quoted by Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, pp. 532, 594.

⁷ *Akbarnameh*, vol. II, p. 1212.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1269.

Musabbihs, third class commanders, who had no *Sewars* at all, would either have no place, or be the enjoyers of mere sinecure. Facts recorded in the *Adab-ul-Munawwar*, however, do not justify any such surmises. Qulij Khan,¹ Zau Khan,² Koka, and Badli Khan³ were without *Sewars*, and at the same time famous generals of the Empire.

Moreover that the *Zai* rank connotes the keeping of a large number of horsemen can be conclusively proved by means of examples from the *Adab-ul-Munawwar* of Abul Hamid. In the reign of Shah Jehan, Asaf Khan was granted the mansab of 9,000 *Zai*, 9,000 *Sewar*, *Damghat Samghat*, and his salary was fixed at sixteen *crores*, twelve *lacs* or 40½ *lacs*.⁴ In the reign of Alamgir, the pay of a *musabbihs* of 9,000 was Rs. 4½ *lacs*, and this might have been approximately the pay in the reign of Shah Jehan also. If we put the pay of a *Damghat Samghat* commander as double that of a commander of mere *Sewars*,⁵ we have nine *lacs* as the pay of Asaf Khan, and the rest of the sum must be the pay of the soldiers serving under him. The pay of 9,000 *Damghat Samghat*, however, does not go above twenty-two *lacs*, sixty-eight thousand rupees and the rest of the sum must therefore be the pay of the soldiers under the *Zai* rank. The same point can be established by a reference to the salary of Prince Dara.⁶ After deducting the pay of the Prince and his *Sewars* the sum of thirty *lacs* remains, and this must be the pay of the soldiers under the *Zai* rank. Further if we take into consideration the statement of Bernier that the *Musabbihs* were neither paid for nor kept the number of soldiers indicated by their rank, the sum remaining for the *Zai* rank would be still greater.

Mr. Tripathi goes to the other extreme, and his view is quite the reverse of that of Blochmann. For him *Sewar* is a mere honour and *Zai* the actual rank. The theory he has formulated hangs on two slender pieces of evidence. The first is an extract from the third *As* of Book II. The passage that he quotes has been thus translated by Blochmann.

'The first class contains such as furnish 100 troopers (*Sewars*). Their monthly salary is Rs. 700. The eleventh class contains such as have no troops (*Sewars*) of their own in accordance with the statement

¹ *Adab-ul-Munawwar*, vol. II, p. 309.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Adab-ul-Munawwar*, vol. I, Fardat edition, p. 399.

⁵ *Adab-ul-Munawwar*, vol. I, p. 113, quoted by Blochmann in the *As* of Book II, vol. I, p. 215.

⁶ *Adab-ul-Munawwar*, vol. II, p. 718.

made above that the Dakhili troops are nowadays preferred. This class gets Rs. 500. The nine intermediate classes have monthly allowances decreasing from Rs. 700 by Rs. 50, for every ten troopers which they furnish less.¹

This according to Mr. Tripathi gives a scale of Rs. 2 per additional horse or *Sawar*, and it was in this manner that all the *Muzumdars* with *Sawars* were paid. How hollow are the foundations of this theory will be seen if we exactly interpret the above passage, which means nothing more and nothing less than that a 100 *Zai* 100 *Sawar* or a first class commander of 100 got Rs. 700, a 100 *Zai*, and 50 *Sawar* got Rs. 600; and a 100 *Zai* without any *Sawars* or a third class commander got Rs. 500 as his *Zai* salary. This view is borne out by the figures in the table given on p. 248 of the *Asiatic Researches*. The only difference to be noted in this case is that instead of the three ranks to be found in other grades, we have eleven in this case.

If we take Rs. 700 as the *Zai* pay of the first class commander of 100, his net salary should be 900 rupees and not Rs. 700 as given in the table. If, however, it be argued that the first class commander received Rs. 200 more than his friend of the third class on account of the honour of 100 *Sawars* at the rate of Rs. 2 per *Sawar*, we are undoubtedly led to believe that the difference in the *Zai* pay of the commanders of the same *Mansab* but of different classes was due to their receiving or not receiving extra pay for their nominal *Sawar* rank. That this view is wholly untenable can be shown by means of the following examples from the *Asiatic Researches* :—

Rank	Class	Salary
4,500	1st	25,000
"	3rd	23,700

The difference between the *Zai* salary of the first and third class commanders is obviously Rs. 300 only. But the difference in their nominal *Sawar* rank cannot at any time be less than 2,251, and might at others go up to 4,500. Thus the difference in their pay ought to have been at least Rs. 4,500, and might have gone up to Rs. 9,000 at the rate of Rs. 2 per *Sawar*. Again the fact that the *Zai* pay of all the commanders of the second class was in spite of the difference in the number of *Sawars* always the same would go hard against any

¹ Nicholson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 228.

² *Ibid.*, p. 229.

such view. A theory therefore that explains only one case out of forty-six and leaves the rest unexplained can hardly be called a true explanation of facts.

Having disposed of Mr. Tripathi's first piece of evidence, we might now take up the evidence that he gives from the account left by Hawkins. 'The custom is,' wrote Hawkins, 'they are allowed so much living to maintain the post, which the king hath given them, that is, they are allowed twenty rupas by the month, and two rupas for every horse *fane*, for the maintenance of their stable. As thus: a captain of 5,000 horse that hath 5,000 horse to maintain in the wars, hath likewise of *fane* other 5,000 horse . . . allowed upon every horse by the month two rupas and this is the pay which the greater part of them are allowed.' According to Mr. Tripathi the words 'of *fane*' that occur in this passage refer to the *Seswar* rank for which the officer received an allowance at the rate of Rs 2 per *Seswar* per mansab.

That this interpretation by Mr. Tripathi is wrong will be clear from a reference to the passage, where the words 'of *fane*' have been even before this used by Hawkins. In his discourse on the government of the Great Moghal he writes, 'They that be of the *fane* of 15,000 horsemen belong to the king and his mother, and eldest son. . . . Dukes be nine thousand *fane*, marquesses five thousand *fane*. . . . All they that have these numbers of horsemen are called *Mansabdars* or men of livings or lordships.'¹ In the next thirteen or fourteen lines he gives the names of the *Mansabdars* and their ranks and ends the passage by saying, 'The rest be from 2,000 downwards till you come to twenty horses, two thousand, nine hundred, and fifty.' If we take into consideration one or two points, it will be obvious that in the above passage Hawkins does not refer to the *Seswar* of Mr. Tripathi's theory. There was, in the first instance, absolutely no rule confining the number of *Seswar* to be given to *Mansabdars* to twenty men. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* a *Bisai* could have ten *Seswar* or sometimes have no *Seswar* at all. Further it would be really quite strange that a man should classify commanders not according to the number of men they kept, but more honour which had absolutely no existence in real horsemen. Moreover in the above passage the rank of Prince Khurram is put down at 2,000. This cannot be his *Seswar*

¹ *Forbes, Early History*, pp. 92-93.

rank for we know for certain that the number of his *Sawars* before 1615 was not above 6,000¹ and Hawkins left India in 1615. Both the grounds on which Mr. Tripathi relies, thus fail to support his view.

That the view of Mr. Tripathi does not rest on any sound basis can further be proved by requesting the examples from the *Padaśāsamā*. The annual salary of Dara, a *Muzamdar* of 20,000 *Zai*, 20,000 *Sawar*, 10,000 *Dastgh* *Shāgh* was ten million rupees. That the *Muzamdars* under Shah Jehan neither kept the number of men indicated by the *Zai* rank, nor were paid for that number is a well-established fact which few would deny.² It would therefore not be reasonable to suppose that Dara was expected to keep about 10,000 men and was paid for that number from the royal treasury. The total of the pays of the soldiers, the *Zai* salary of the prince, and the sum given at the rate of Rs. 2 per *Sawar* per manum does not reach above three millions per annum and thus Dara is left a surplus of about seven million rupees which can hardly be explained by the theory of Mr. Tripathi. The same difficulty comes in on the estimation of the salary of Asaf Khan.

An examination of the views of Mr. Tripathi and Blochmann naturally leads one to the conclusion that both the ranks *Sawar* as well as *Zai* were actual. In Akbar's reign *Muzamdars* seem to have been expected to keep—whether they kept or not is a different question—as many horsemen as were indicated by their *Zai* rank, and were paid for these from the imperial and local treasuries. *Sawars* were additional soldiers given to *Muzamdars* specially favoured by the Emperor and were a sort of honour. From the *Zai* salary the *Muzamdar* maintained his household, and kept the specified establishment. Higher *Muzamdars* must have maintained a number of horsemen for the horses assigned to them.

The view thus established tallies in most respects with that of Irvine. One difference from his theory, however, has been noted in the beginning of this article, and one more might be recorded at this place. Irvine lays it down as a general rule that from the *Zai* salary the *Muzamdar* had to maintain some horsemen, besides their transport and household. To me it seems that only the higher *Muzamdars* did so, for the lower ones it was an impossible undertaking.

¹ Dani Pundit, *Jahangir*, p. 128.

² *Muzamdar's Pensions*, p. 127, Oxford Edition.

I shall give an example from the *Ain-i-Akbari* to substantiate the contention. The monthly salary of a *Mumukshu* of 50 was Rs. 230 and the cost of his establishment was Rs. 180½. Deducting this from his salary we get Rs. 43½ as his net income. He had eight horses in his charge and if for these he kept even two horsemen his own net income would be badly reduced. In that case even an *Yahashah* *Frast* whose monthly salary was Rs. 30 would be better off than the poor *Mumukshu* of 50.

The next question to consider is as to the motives leading to the innovations of 1555. These are not far to seek, and can be best studied from the political situation in that year. Akbar though the lord of Northern India does not rest satisfied with what he had secured, and wants to conquer the Deccan Sultanates whose very presence as independent powers is an offence to him,¹ desires to drive out the Portuguese from India, and guard the frontiers against the Persians from whom Kandhar has just been captured. Salim is a further element of danger, and he cannot but feel that if Salim's military power were greater than his own, he would at once capture the throne. Akbar seems to feel the need of a greater army, and probably therefore introduces a new scheme which is at once economical and efficient.

That the addition of the *Sawar* rank to the original *Mumukshu* was a wise measure can hardly be doubted. To his placing the newly raised additional forces under the old *Mumukshus* without increasing their *Mumukshu* there were two alternatives; first the creation of new *Mumukshus*, and second, an increase in the *Mumukshu* of the old commanders. Both of these were inferior on account of the greater expenditure they involved, to the scheme that Akbar devised. An example would make the matter clear:—

(a) In the case of a first class commander of 4,500 the total monthly cost to the State would be Rs. 25,000 (the salary of the *Mumukshu*) + (4,500 × Rs. 15-10-8) = Rs. 1,75,000.

If the State would have created a new *Mumukshu* the total cost would have been Rs. 25,700 × 2 (the salary of 2 third class *Mumukshus*) + Rs. 4,500 × 2 × Rs. 15-10-8 (the salary of 2,000 troops) = Rs. 2,01,400.

The monthly cost for a new commander would thus be Rs. 25,400

¹ 'Father Xavier's Letter,' *Indian Antiquary*, February 1924.

monthly, and 3,04,800 annually in excess to that in case of a commander with *Samsar*.

(b) If the *Mamash-i-Zaf* of an old commander would have been increased the cost to the State would have been Rs. 55,000 (the salary of a commander of 9,000) + Rs. 16-16-8 \times 9,000 = Rs. 205,000.

This again would have involved the expenditure of Rs. 29,000 monthly, and 358,000 annually more than in the case of a first class commander of 4,300.

That the state gained much by the new order of things will have been made clear from the above example. On the other hand those who were given the *Samsar* rank were materially benefited. They keep a 1/3rd part of the pay of the soldiers put under them,¹ and this must not have ill compensated the *Mamashs* for the pains they took in commanding the new forces.

The addition of the *Samsar* rank besides being a good measure from the economic point of view settled satisfactorily the question of rank and dignity. If Mirza Shahrugh would have been made a *Mamash* of 13,000 his position would have been officially regarded as superior to that of Prince Batin, who held the rank of 12,000. The scheme of Akbar while giving men like Shahrugh the command of 7,000 + 6,000 kept them in rank below the Prince. It reserved to the royal sons the social dignity that counted for much in Darbars, Koriahs, Tashas, and the grant of the *Zaf* salary, but gave the real power to trusted commanders, who while remaining in mere rank below such Princes as the infant Kirmu, were the masters of the Empire and directed the operations of the army in wars.

¹ *Shahnama, Akbar-i-Shahi*, vol. 1, p. 208.

Mir Jumla and Ram Singh in Assam

(Mainly based on Assamese Chronicles or *Buranis*)

BY

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The Mir Jumla Couplet.—Every student of Indian history knows the couplet about Warren Hastings.—

*Hatti par hundaib, ghora par jia,
Jatti aa, jatti aa, Sobai Hastings.*

Mir Jumla who invaded Assam in 1692, had previously played a very important part in the affairs of the Deccan and of the Mogul capital. His meteoric rise to affluence and power from the position of a mere fortune-hunter from Persia, his *debut* at Golconda, his prime-minister-ship in the Court of Emperor Shah Jehan, his strategic *coups* in the war of succession, his assistance to Aurangzeb with his 'twenty millions of diamond' ultimately placing the latter on the throne, made Mir Jumla the most conspicuous figure in Mogul India, and created round him a very magnetic and influential personality. When such a man appeared on the plains of the Brahmaputra Valley, and carried his arms to the furthest limits of Assam, he naturally left a very deep impression upon the minds of the people, and the result is a couplet which we have found in two separate manuscript Assamese *Buranis* or chronicles.¹

*Khote-dibekh B'ghabibekha, tondho chot dori,
Bakoraka thango Jatta Ganhath bori.*

which, when translated into English will be approximately as follows—

Short and robust Majum Khan,²
With rounded beard in his face,
First will vanquish Oodhi Bakor,
To Ganhath then he'll pass.

¹ *Buranis*, Nos. 1 and 2, referred to in the list of collection, *post*.

² Mir Jumla appears under various designations in Assamese chronicles.—
Majum Khan, Azit Jumla, Mirja Myka, or simply Khan-i-Khanan. 'Mir' Muhammad Said Arifzadeh, mentioned Mir Jumla, and afterwards Muhammad Khan, Khan Khagan B'ghabekhar, was born in Ardahan near Isfahan, and came to India in the personal attendance of a Turkish merchant.' *History*, p. 13, footnote.

A Prediction.—This is how the couplet originated. Mir Jumla stood at the borders of Cooch Behar and Assam with 80,000 horse, and despatched two messengers to the Herpinikon at Gumbati, demanding the evacuation of that place. According to the custom of the Ahom Court the messengers were served daily with provisions and necessaries. One day, a deer was added to the articles of food. The Mogul ambassador retained the other provisions and let loose the deer, and told our men as follows :—

"Now, listen to me. I will tell you a story. Two flocks of peacocks were engaged in fighting, flying from one branch to another. From there they flew upon a hill. As they were engaged in a long and continuous flight commencing from midday, they were all exhausted with fatigue. A herd of elephants witnessed this fight, and their leader said,—"It will be disastrous, if we remain here; let us move from hence." Another elephant retorted,—"Why should we leave this place? If the birds fly upon our bodies, do you think we shall not be able to kill them?" Then the birds, engaged in scuffling together dropped upon the herd, and wounded and pierced the eyes of several of the elephants, which being seized with fright at this sudden and unexpected attack, dispersed in confusion to all possible quarters. They fell on pits, on beds of thorns or got themselves bogged in morasses. Most of them perished in the snare, and only a few could depart with their lives. The elephants met this calamity because they ignored the sage counsel of their leader. But stirred and agitated by our elephants, horses and foot-soldiers the waters will be converted to blood, the forests to sands, and the deer will come out in herds; for, Mir Jumla, who is short and stout and has a rounded beard in his face, will proceed to Gumbati after the conquest of Cooch Behar."

The story with slight textual variations appears also in *Shamshad*, No. 5, with the following concluding verse :—

इसी बेकार बन्दोस्त बरु हर्षवत ।
 बरु होमित संगत बाबा ।
 यूरे यूरे बाबूरी पहर पाव ।
 बादा बदा मुहम्मदी यूरे भाव कबी ।
 बादा बेकार यरी बन्दो ग्याहाडीबाबी ।

And its fulfilment.—The Barpinkan discovered from the tread of the fable that Mir Jumla meant mischief, and accordingly sent messages to the Ahom King Jayadhwaja Singh (1648-1681) at Garogaon. The prediction made by the Mogul diplomat and story-teller was fulfilled — 'Mir Jumla made his way into Cooch Behar by an obscure and neglected high way'.¹ 'On the 27th of Raby-ul-Aval (December 1661) Mir Jumla took possession of the capital of Cooch Behar, and in compliment to the reigning Emperor, changed its name to Alamgir Nagar'.² The Nawab then invaded Assam, entered Guwahati on the 17th of March, 1662. The Ahom king fled to the 'Pestilential hills of Namerup,' and earned for all ages the unpatriotic epithet of the 'Bhaganiya Raja' or the Deserting King. A treaty was concluded, which was favourable to the invaders. But the great Khair-Khan Mir Jumla died in March 1663 on his way back to Deccan, and Aurangzeb wrote to the valorous commander's son Mahmud Amin Khan, — 'You mourn the death of an affectionate parent, and I the loss of the most powerful and the most dangerous of my friends.'³

Dead bones unperished.—We shall give an instance of the accuracy of details noticeable in Assamese chronicles, as seen from the manner in which facts narrated there are confirmed by the accounts of Mogul historians. During Mir Jumla's residence in or about the Ahom capital he excavated several tombs or *sarkis* of Ahom nobles and princes, in which were deposited their personal belongings, their garments and their jewels. We reproduce the following passage from the *Asiatick Researches*, the official Persian account of the invasion given by Shahabuddin Talish.⁴—

'The common people bury their dead with some of the property of the deceased, placing the head towards the east, and feet towards the west. The chiefs build vaults for their dead, and place therein the

Asiatick Researches, No. 1. इती केन कश्चित् खड्गनामकं खड्गं भोजितं होयवी, सेवेन होयवी कथम् । एते एते वाङ्मो पदुर पाप्मनः ।

कथा सुता कथमस्ति मुने कथं कथि । वैद्वज्जल मीने वाङ्मो स्पृष्टादी-काकिः ।

¹ *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. II, p. 300.

² *Stewart's History of Bengal*, p. 326.

³ *Bender's Travels*, p. 173; and *Mir's History of Jangha*, vol. 2, Book III.

⁴ The extract is taken from *Assam and the Ahoms in 1662*, by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, p. 234, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic and Oriental Research Society for December, 1875*.

wives and servants of the deceased, after killing them, together with necessary articles for a few years, including various kinds of gold and silver vessels, carpets, clothes and food-stuffs. . . . From the vaults which were dug open (by the Moguls) nearly ninety thousand rupees on all accounts were realised.'

The first part of the above passage describing the contents of the tomb of an Ahom noble is thus supported in an Ahom chronicle.—We read in Lt.-Col. P. H. T. Gordon's *Short Note on the Ahoms* (p. 10).—'A Burmaji (*Ahom Chronicle*) describes how at the funeral of Raja Gadadhor Singha who died in A.D. 1696, a number of living persons, who had been the deceased's attendants were interred with the corpse, together with many articles of food, raiments and ornaments.' Though Shahabuddin wrote of Assam thirty years prior to Gadadhor Singha's death he only speaks of a custom obtaining in both these periods.

The second part of the passage quoted from the *Fakihya-t-thirya* describing the exhumation of the remains of Ahom tombs by the Moguls, is confirmed in an Assamese chronicle :—

'During Mir Juma's stay in upper Assam he came to learn from some Assamese people who became friends with the Moguls that the tombs or mausoleum of the kings had vast wealth, and he accordingly employed his men to dig open the graves. Our men pointed out the mouths of the tombs, after which Mir Juma carried on his excavations. The tombs of Barjara Gohain, Lakshmi Gohain yielded huge treasures; and their bones were also extracted and removed. During the months of Baisakh, Jyestha and Ashar, the grave of Borha Raja (Pratap Singha, 1603-41) was unearthed, and untold wealth was recovered from there; his bones were also removed. On the seventh of Baisakh, 1584 ash, the tomb of the Nariya Raja (Butyingpha, 1644-65), Bhara Raja (Bhuranpha, 1641-46) and Khora Raja (Bukhampha, 1632-1603) and Gargayya Raja (Buklemasing, 1539-1557) were excavated and their treasures and bones were removed. The king Jayadhrwaia Singha heard this, and expressed his sorrow, saying, "I have not been able even to protect the bones of my forefathers."'

* Burmaji, No. 1, with list of authorities, *ibid.* For further particulars regarding Ahom tombs vide Burgess's G. Clayton's 'Description of the Tomb of an Ahom Noble' in *J. A. S. S.*, June 1845, where we read,—"Rudra Singha (1696-1714) is said to have prohibited the burying alive of the queens, guards, attendants, slaves, physicians, etc., at his decease."

The Value of Assamese Soldiers.—The terms of the treaty concluded between Mir Jumla and the representatives of the Ahom king were certainly favourable to the invaders.¹ From the humiliating nature of the treaty it is evident that Assam did not play her part so well in the game. The Assamese were not lacking in vigilance or courage or military craft. They dealt occasionally heavy blows on the invaders, and Mulla Darwish of Hurat, 'that monster of eloquence' who accompanied Mir Jumla during the expedition has thus celebrated the bravery of the Assamese people in an elegant *gawade* or ode.²

'The Rajah of Assam brought to the Aid an army,
Whose large number became a cage on earth,

[They were] tumult-rising and addidist (as noted) like the eyes of the fair
men

Hurling arrows and (other) missiles, and making a (firm) stand in the
battle-field,

Their bodies full of life, they robed lives on plains, and all

All of them were terrific, like the demon fire in the river

If one of them made a charge on the battle-field,

Their bodies would be covered from their heads, and their heads from the
bodies (before they left it)

They seem to be Ahomians come out of hell,

Or some beast that has escaped from the chains of captivity

They are strong-fisted to such a degree that if they are hit to dust

Their voice do not become the least slack

All of them are without light like the eye-balls of the blind,

All of them are like poisonous plants in quality and effect

Jyotirchandra Singha's Delinquency.—Then, why could not the Assamese do justice to the valour and martial ardour attributed to them by successive generations of visitors? There were men and money, and all the requisite materials for a victory; but the Assamese army were at that time a body without a head. There was no military commander of supreme genius who could marshal and co-ordinate the materials, to bring out and organise the unexplored energies of the

¹ Gait's *History of Assam*, p. 136; Prof. Sachse's *History of Assam*, vol. II, p. 266. *An Assamese Poet* giving an account of the tribute to be paid by Assam to Delhi goes to the extent of saying:—'The Mughal Mir Jumla invaded the country and conquered it, and the king Jyotirchandra Singha fled to Churul Khong in Manipal'; vide Gait's *Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, p. 17. See also Mir Jumla's letter to Aurangzeb on the terms of the treaty, etc., published by the present writer in *Sankhya*, vol. II, p. 117.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, December 1874, Prof. Sachse's *Assam and Ahom in 1666*, p. 126.

people rendering them efficient for the issues of the war, to rouse national consciousness to a point when all subordinate considerations would be relegated to the background. The absence of such a leader and commander was felt even then, and the king's inefficiency in facing manfully and tactfully the critical juncture in the history of his country was recognised by his contemporaries. The king Jayadhwaja Singha was too unshivarious to attend to the serious duties of a king. A manuscript chronicle² specifically pins the whole blame on the king when it says,—The father women and *Pahar*³ said to the king at Doulgeri Road during his flight to Namrup,—‘O lord, you have paid your attention only to pleasure and dalliance. If you had only put during these fifteen years of your reign fifteen pils of earth at proper places, your fate would not have been like this. Where are you fleeing leaving us in the lurch?’ The king was extremely aggrieved to hear this admonition from the lips of the female hawks. The same unknown chronicler refers to the absence of able generalship at the time of Jayadhwaja Singha when he describes the proceedings of the war-council convened by King Radra Singha (1696-1714) at North Guwahati, to discuss the proposal to invade Bengal with a view to restore to Assam the territories extending up to the river Karatoya, long held in fee by the sovereigns of Kamrup.—

‘The Barpetra Gohais in support of the king’s proposal said,—

“The territories bordering on the Karatoya are ours.” The council

¹ *Shrawit*, No. 2

² One living in the Brahmaputra Valley would see on the roofs of towns and villages female hawkers or *Pahars* with baskets on their heads, loaded with fish, lime, turmeric, pineapples, ginger, rice, poultry and other garden and agricultural products for sale or barter.

³ ‘This pathetic assertion of territorial rights by Radra Singha and his ministers is not without any historic foundation. ‘In the *Anglo-Tibetan* Kamrup is said to include the tracts lying between the Karatoya on the west and Dihang on the east . . . that is to say, it included roughly the Brahmaputra Valley, Shantinagar, Kach-Bihar’ (*ibid.* p. 36). According to Hsien-Tsang’s account Kamrup extended on the west as far as the Karatoya (p. 34). Western Kamrup or Kamata had its western boundary at the Karatoya (pp. 40-41). Mirza Singha, king of Kach-Bihar about the year 1515 extended his rule as far as the Karatoya (p. 57). During the reign of the Ahom King Suktongmung (1582-1595) in the war with Turukh, the invaders were completely defeated. ‘Turukh was repulsed by a spear. . . . The Ahoms followed hard on the fugitives as far as the Karatoya River’ (p. 51). The Ahom general Kunthang Baryaka Gohain washed his sword, drenched with the blood of the enemies in the waters of the Karatoya when he conceived a link in commemoration of his victory. Halhed’s *Asiatic Researches* written as early as 1800 says that the Karatoya was made by

have got possession of them only on account of our indifference and inaction. The duty of a king is to destroy the enemy, and to recover lost possessions with a view to preserve the ancient boundaries of his kingdom. We have a large host and naval soldiers, and abundance of war-materials. If the king orders, the enemy will be crushed and destroyed." The *Bura Gohain* then added,—“The king's proposal is reasonable, and what the *Burpahn Gohain* says is equally reasonable.” The ancestors of our king, had, by virtue of their prowess and courage crossed the boundaries of Rangsaali, and washed their swords at the Karatoya-Ganga. They found it inconvenient (to fix the boundaries of Assam at the Karatoya), so they made the river Manas the western limit of Assam, and established a garrison at Gauhati. In the reign of Jayadhwaja Singha there was an abundance of provisions and men, still he acquired the title of the “Deserting King”; arms and ammunition, materials and supplies are torpid and impotent, the followers and subordinates of the king are symbols of life and animation, they alone can infuse into the feeble war-provisions a dynamic force.¹

Rajah Ram Singh in Assam.—On the death of Jayadhwaja Singha, Chakradhwaja Singha (1663-70) ascended the Ahom throne. Being highly sensitive to his prestige and dignity, the new king resolved to free the country from the burden of the heavy indemnities payable annually to the Mogul Court. A new army was raised, and trained on new lines and principles. The king personally supervised the military manœuvres and practices. Lachit Barphukan was placed at the head of this newly mobilised force. Gauhati was wrested back from the Moguls. The Mogul forces under Raja Ram Singh, the heroic son of Aurangzeb's firm and resolute Rajput adherent Mirza Jay Singh of Amber, were after a series of engagements defeated at the naval battle of Baraighat, near Gauhati in 1670.² The chivalrous Rajput commander Raja Ram Singh was deeply impressed by the dash of the Assamese soldiers, their tenacity, courage and tenacity in the battle-field, and the invincible leadership of the Assamese general, and he said,—“Glory to the King! Glory to the councillors! Glory to

Kachang Burpahn, the western boundary of Assam. During the reign of Ram Singh the Manas River was the western limit of Assam.

¹ For a complete and authoritative account of the battle of Baraighat, see H. K. Maji Chandra Goswami's article of that name in *Idola*, vol. 1.

the commander ! Glory to the country ! One single individual leads all the forces ! Even I, Ram Singha, being personally on the spot, do not find any loophole and opportunity '.

A Patriotic Bluff.—During the earlier stages of the war, Ram Singha and Lachit Phukon fixed the boundary of Assam, by retaining the limits arrived at between Moruni Tamuli Barphakon (Lachit's father) and Ahloyar Khan in the reign of Pratap Singha.¹ They both regarded the ancient boundaries as pillars of gold and silver; and Ram Singha delivered the following oration,—'As long as the sun and the moon remain in the sky, no one will be able to alter the boundary. But, may I ask, where was this valiant general (Lachit Phukon) when Mir Juma over-ran the country?' The Assamese ambassador Kaupatia Madhavacharan thundered forth a Himalayan bluff,—'In the eastern region there is a kingdom named Nara, which was bound by a treaty to pay annually to the Ahom monarch a stipulated tribute of horses, clothes, elephants and money. The king of Nara disregarded the terms of the treaty, and Lachit Phukon was despatched by the Ahom monarch to extort the tribute from the refractory king. The Ahom general devastated the country of Nara, and exacted from its unwilling lord the tribute. On hearing of the arrival of Mir Juma in Assam, the Assamese commander hurried back from Nara, pursued the Nawab, but on reaching Kalahar, he learnt that Mir Juma had been gathered to his fore-fathers.'² But though there is a tribe, known as the Nara, in the neighbourhood of Assam, with which the Ahoms came occasionally into conflict, we have not heard of any Nara expedition during the reign of Jayadhwaja Singha, and Lachit was then only a junior officer of the Ahom Court, and history is mute regarding his alleged association with any frontier warfare ! It should be remembered that subsequent misunderstandings between the Ahom and the Mogul camps developed fresh hostilities on both sides, which were set at rest only by the decisive battle of Saraighat.

Why was Mir Juma sent to Assam ?—Both Mir Juma and Ram

¹ At the conclusion of the hostilities with the Muhammadans in the reign of Pratap Singha, 'a treaty was negotiated (in 1680) under which the Jiroudi in the north bank of the Dihangputra and the Acheru AJ in the south were fixed as the boundary between the Ahom and the Muhammadan territories.' *Op. cit.* pp. 115-36.
² *Ibid.*, No. 1.

Singha were great figures in the Mogul administration. But why did not Aurangzeb despatch superior commanders to invade Assam, and retain these able soldiers and councillors for more urgent imperial purposes? There is a suspicion in some quarters that the Emperor, after sitting on the throne looked upon Mir Jumla with fear, thinking that the man who had naturally helped him 'to wade through slaughter to a throne' might also remove him from that giddy eminence. Bernier explicitly states (p. 171) in this connection that 'Aurangzeb justly apprehended that an ambitious soldier (Mir Jumla) could not long remain in a state of repose and that, if disengaged from foreign war, he would seek occasion to excite internal commotions'—he off to Assam and Aracan and the pestiferous shra and floods and mosquitoes and infestations of the eastern regions of India! Various motives and reasons are ascribed for the invasion of Assam by Mir Jumla. Bernier seems to think (p. 171) that the invasion of Assam had already figured in the imagination of Mir Jumla, who intended to carry his victorious arms to the mountainous steppes of China and thereby earn immortal fame, so the Emperor's orders to invade Assam gave him the official sanction to pursue his own ambitious project. Prof. Jadunath Sen, C.I.E., states with authority in his *History of Aurangzeb*¹ that 'Mir Jumla was appointed Viceroy of Bengal with orders to punish the lawless Zemindars of the province, specially those of Assam and Magh (Aracan) who had caused injury and molestation to the Muslims.' The king of Aracan had already exasperated the great Mogul by harbouring his only surviving brother and rival Sultan Shuja, and 'Aurangzeb desired that Mir Jumla, the new Viceroy of Bengal, should after conquering Assam lead an army into Aracan to recover Shuja's family if possible.'² Charles Stewart is however of opinion that the provocation for this

¹ Vol. III (p. 170).

² Prof. Sen quotes as his authority for this passage *Asiat-Anagari*, pp. 485 and 48 and Orme's *Pragmata*, p. 88. During the earlier part of Jayaditya Singha's engagements with the Muhammadans, referred to by himself, *Asat*, he won victory over them. A contest was fought at Paba Point bearing the following inscription: श्री श्री सर्वदेव देवदेवसिंह देवदेवस्य यक्षः.....श्री यक्ष

श्री.....१५००. Which has been translated by Gidh as follows:—The King Jayaditya Singha, having vanquished the Muhammadans at Gaptak-Bhadrak his temple is built. . . 80.' It describes the date as to be 1500, or A.D. 1587.

invasion of Assam was given by Jayadhwaja Singha himself. He says in his *History of Bengal*, p. 326.—'The prince of this country (Assam) Jydeh Singha (Jayadhwaja Singha) had during the civil wars (wars of succession to the throne of Delhi) sent an army down the Brahmaputra, which had plundered and laid waste the country as far as Dacca, and carried away with them a number of the inhabitants as slaves. To avenge these insults, and to re-establish the fame of the Mogul Government, was an object of great solicitude to Mir Jumla; who as soon as he was satisfied with regard to the prince Shuja, in the year 1071 (A.N.) collected, in the neighbourhood of Dacca, a numerous army, well equipped with artillery and warlike stores, and accompanied by a strong fleet of war-boats.'

The Officers of Ram Singha.—We have got some idea of the complicated motives of Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam. But why was Ram Singha selected to lead the expedition provoked by King Chakradhwaja Singha's bold and chivalrous attitude against the indignities¹ he had received in the hands of Mogul ambassadors? It was Ram Singha who under the orders of the Emperor, had looked after Shivaji when that great empire-builder was a 'guest' in Aurangzeb's palace at Agra. Jay Singha invaded Bijapur, and at his instance Aurangzeb wrote to Shivaji inviting him to the Imperial court. We read in the *Life of Shahu Maharaj*, by Messrs. Talwalkar and Kolaskar,—Jay Singha advised Shivaji to proceed to Agra without any anxiety, promising that his son Ram Singha would look after his comforts and safety. Upon these assurances Shivaji resolved to visit Agra. Shivaji's restless and undaunted spirit playing in the hurries of the Mogul Court resembled the grains of dynamite cribbed and confined in a German howitzer, ever ready to burst and explode, producing a terrific boom and commotion, and blowing to smithereens all surrounding objects. Shivaji by a bold and original stratagem threw dust into the eyes of the wily Emperor and escaped from the surveillance and

¹ The indignities were (i) the insistence by the Moguls of the Royal compliance of the terms of the treaty with Jayadhwaja Singha. First, Surart may be quoted. 'The Mogul Government also dealt in an ungenerous and grasping way with the Ahom king in money matters.' (ii) A *Shivaji* states that King Chakradhwaja highly resented the Emperor's present of a *Sirys* to him, and the Mogul ambassadors' insistence on his waiting in their presence that token of Imperial favour. It should be remembered that the memorable battle of Rungbeh, where Ram Singha was defeated, took place in the early months of the reign of Chakradhwaja's successor King Udayaditya.

humidity to which he was subjected, and the vapours naturally fell upon his Hindu custodian Ram Singha as having loosened the strings of the caged bird. The Mahabatta historians continue,—‘Ram Singha did not quite escape a certain measure of suspicion. Chitras asserts that Ram Singha conspired at Shivaji's escape. Some Mahabatta Brahmins—who were caught admitted under torture that Shivaji had escaped with the connivance of Ram Singha. But when Jay Singha heard that he protected his son was innocent of such faithlessness to the Emperor. But Aurangzeb would not listen to all that, and Ram Singha was forbidden to appear at court. Jay Singha who had served the Emperor so well in his struggle for the throne, and in his campaigns in the Deccan took to heart his son's humiliation. He hurried to the defence of his territories, intending to recover his independence. But the valiant Rajput chief, an offspring of the renowned Kachhwahas of Amber, died on his arrival at Ishanapur, on the tenth of July, 1657.¹ And the culprit Ram Singha was placed at the head of an expedition against the Raja of Assam as a punishment for his alleged conspiracy at Shivaji's flight from Agra.²

Humiliation of Ram Singha.—But Ram Singha's mother and his wife, with the masculine sagacity of Rajput women foresaw the disastrous consequences of the expedition to Assam. The unknown Assamese *Baranish*, ever eager to record the fondest glory about great Mogul personalities connected with Assam,³ thus writes,—

‘When Ram Singha was in Assam he heard the story that the Emperor Aurangzeb in a fit of anger asked his son Krishna Singha to entertain him (the Emperor) by playing with tigers. Krishna Singha agreed and two tigers were released within a net. Krishna Singha,

¹ We take these details of Jay Singha's end from Bhandari's *Frontier*, p. 282 and 283-284.

² Shivaji in Assam was extremely unpopular, and no soldier would go there unless compelled. Indeed, there is reason to believe that Ram Singha was sent to Assam as a punishment for his having secretly helped Shivaji to escape from captivity at Agra. Prof. Marlar's *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. III, pp. 213-214, and Marlar, II, 123.

³ *From Assam*, No. 1. Two Assamese chronicles of the Mogul Court have been recently discovered, one by Mr. Sampath Baruah in the India Office, London, and the other by the present writer in the American Baptist Mission at Guwahati. They relate to the pre-Assam activities of Ram Singha, Mir Jumla and Jay Singha.

armed with his shield and sword, saluted the Emperor, and leaped into the arena. The brutes rushed at him, but the Rajput "gladiator" escaped being mangled and torn to pieces by a deft manoeuvre of his shield. When he was next attacked, he with his sword, cut one tiger into two pieces, dashed off at its fellow, and killed it as well. Then the surrounding people rent the sky with acclamations, shouting,—"Glory to thee, O Krishna Singha, son of Ram Singha, thou art a true Kabutra's son." Ram Singha's widowed mother and his wife sent a letter to him in which they wrote,—“The Emperor contrived the death of Krishna Singha, by making him wrestle with tigers. Such a friend is the Emperor! We have received enough tokens of gratitude for the conquest of countries for the Emperor (by Jay Singha and Ram Singha)! Never think that by your invasion of the eastern country (Assam), we will gain more. We are told that there is universal *anar-kritia* (religious mist and recoil) in that country. By invading it, oh, how long could Mir Jamsa thrive? He takes heed, and do as you think proper.” Shabeta Khan said to the messenger,—“Well, tell Ram Singha that for the fear of Assam, the honour and prestige of the Nawabs and Rajas have remained intact. If that country be invaded and subjugated then we shall be dishonoured as well.” On the receipt of this message Ram Singha became disheartened. It should be remembered that the letter was received by Ram Singha on the eve of the battle of Saralghat in which the Mogul forces were completely defeated and routed by Lachit Phukan and Hadira, opposite Goalpara, now become the Ahom frontier out-post on the west.

¹ I would like to give the original sentence of the *Burañi* :—

बुराणी केले, यमपिंडक कोमि, अहम बेबोके लखे मकम रज सुकम
नाम मजारा बीड रहिये । तब मारि कहाकरिजे जमार सुतजीरे माघ जगे ।

Shabeta Khan, uncle of Aurangzeb, became Governor of Bengal after the death of Mir Jamsa. His famous escape from Shivali at the Poona Fort has made him a well-known figure in Indian History. The meaning of his message to Ram Singha is probably as follows :—

The existence of the powerful independent kingdom of Assam, has made the Emperor careful in his dealings with his allies and lordlings, so he has to count upon their help in times of emergency, when he projects an invasion of Assam. The position of the Governor of Bengal is of supreme importance under the circumstances.

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1 an empire in consequence
1, went further and annexed to it

The Rise of Daud Khan Rohilla

OR

AN EARLY HISTORY OF THE ROHILLAS IN INDIA TILL
THE DEATH OF DAUD KHAN

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Condition of India after the Death of Aurangzeb.—The Mughal Empire had a glorious history from the reign of Akbar, who may be regarded as its real founder, to that of Aurangzeb. The royal treasury was replete with money and jewels, which dazzled the eyes of the various foreign visitors. The people were prosperous, and there was universal toleration. A great advance of culture, marked by the erection of magnificent structures and the production of the finest works of art, was made. But this prosperity had already begun to decline in the reign of the last of the Great Moghals, Aurangzeb. A series of rebellions broke out in different parts of his Empire, as a result of his religious policy, and the Marhattas in particular became enemies of the empire. The death of the old orthodox warrior aggravated the situation. As usual the sons of the Emperor contended for the throne, and by coaxing and lavish distribution of presents, bounties and preferments, enlisted the nobles and soldiers under their standards. Behadur Shah emerged successful from the struggle. His reign was short, but was crowded with revolts and rebellions in all quarters. The Rajputs withdrew their support and as Hadrat Khan writes in his memoirs, 'Now openly showed their designs to struggle for independence, in close alliance with each other to bind which Jeyasingh had espoused the daughter of Ajit Singh.'¹

In the north there was another tale to tell. Seeing the utter weakness of the Empire, the Sikhs formed designs to avenge the

human miseries they had suffered at the hands of their Musalman rulers. Finding themselves strong in the hilly regions of the Punjab, they raised the standard of revolt under the leadership of Bahlia, and swept the neighbourhood of Delhi, 'committing massacres, razing all edifices, as mosques, colleges, mausoleums and palaces, killing or taking prisoners the faithful of every age and sex, and plundering with the most cruel severity.'¹ The degenerate nobility, pampered in luxury, could not find courage to meet the Sikhs, and so fled away from the capital with their families and goods. The Emperor left the Rajputs and proceeded against the northern enemy, whom, however, he could not thoroughly suppress.²

In the north the Mahadattas, though disconcerted by the death of their leader, Shrivaji, assailed Alimgir with success and had been able to free their fastnesses from the Musalim control. Their aggressions were daily increasing, and 'the Mahadattas' as Prof. Sarkar says, 'were an open sore which drained the life-blood of the Empire and steadily reduced its size.'³

At the same time, the 'weakness of the central government emboldened the provincial governors to defy imperial prohibitions,'⁴ and they made themselves rich by heavy exactions from the merchants and the peasants. Guardians of peace became its disturbers; and when they had made themselves rich and strong, gradually shook off the imperial authority and established their independence. The court was the hot-bed of intrigue, profligacy and luxury. High offices of state were given to the bedchambers, minstrels and favourites of the mistresses. Career was not open to talent. The public service was a means of gratifying sycophants, kinsmen, and comrades in revelry. Vice and sloth under the later Mughals drove out efficiency and fidelity. Merit was eclipsed by immorality; and so the capable and efficient nobles had to look somewhere outside the court for appreciation and remuneration. Finding themselves insecure against capricious dismissal and degradation, their property and family honour menaced, they resorted to their last hope of 'asserting their independence and establishing provincial dynasties of their own.'⁵

¹ Scott, *Memoirs of Aurangzeb Khan*, pp. 28-9.

² *Turkish-Afghanistan*, MSS, p. 107.

³ Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. v, p. 444.

⁴ Scott, *Memoirs of Aurangzeb Khan*, pp. 28-29.

The army, once the boast of the Mughals and the dread of their enemies, was disorganised, degenerate and ill-equipped. Long wars in the Deccan had consumed the flower of the fighting class and now the residue was left in misery. Its spirit was utterly broken. Its discipline, mutiny and a constant desire for bounty were its chief features. Luxury had crept into its ranks, so it was quite useless for sustained action. Owing to the civil wars it had grown in numbers, so much that in the reign of Bahadur Shah, writes Hadrat Khan, the memoir writer, 'the army was now increased to one hundred thousand horse, and soldiers of every cast (caste) and sect flocked in crowds to the imperial standard, where they were received with proper encouragement and amply paid.'² But the old solidarity was gone, and deprived of the support of the Rajputs, it could not stand against the Hindu and Muslim rebels.

The economic impoverishment of India had already begun. Owing to the unusual drain of wealth from Northern India to finance the southern wars, the peasantry was left destitute.³ Coupled with this, the exactions of the local chiefs and provincial governors sucked the blood of the poor farmers. Many new cesses and taxes were imposed upon the agricultural and the industrial classes which killed village industries and ruined the people who lived by them. Mechanical skill found no patronage, and peace which is the first requisite for its healthy growth was absent from the land. There was no security for the wages earned by hard labour, and without this the incentive for work was lost. Trade could not be peacefully carried on as the roads were not safe. Caravans were looted by bands of raiders who inhabited the villages on the high roads. Agriculture could not flourish, and writes Bhimsen the chronicler, 'the ryots have given up cultivation'. When their hereditary occupation was gone, they became robbers and highway men and made the situation all the worse.

Lastly, there was a great deterioration in the character and capacity of the rulers who came to occupy the throne of Akbar and Shahjahan. 'The native genius of Akbar, the genial moderation of Jahangir, the sagacity, energy and refined taste of Shahjahan', and the piousness and continence of Aurangzeb, had changed into weakness, irresolution and expediency of the later Mughals. They had no taste for the civil

² Scott, *Memoirs of Hadrat Khan*, p. 49.

³ Butler, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. 7, p. 445.

routine of state business, and passed their time in the harem in the company of buffoons, minstrels and sycophants. Jahandar Shah was notorious for his debauchery and drunkenness. He was foolish enough to go about publicly in the bazar with his mistress Lalkunwar, whose high-handedness had offended all the nobles of the court.¹ With such rulers at the head, the court and the public could not long remain unstained with immorality. Public corruption, immorality of the rulers, inefficiency of the state officials, weakness of the army, and the growing disorder in the provinces, all combined to bring about the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

When such was the state of the court and the army, when economic poverty was eating into the vitals of the country, 'all classes of lawless men began to raise their heads in the north and south'. Their suppression was a task almost impossible for the local officials. The emperors, if they could get release from the luxuries of the harem, were not free from the pressing invasions of the Sikhs and the Marathas. In such times, the centrifugal forces, ever so conspicuous in Indian history, began their action. 'The proud Zemindars, whose grandfathers had been ruling princes before the coming of the Mughals, the Afghan families settled in various districts and still dreaming of their lost empire in India, claimants to princely titles dispossessed by order of Aurangzeb, predatory tribes . . . and the turbulent Rajput peasantry . . . all rose in defiance of the government and began to lay hands on their weaker neighbours.'²

It was in such disturbed times that Daud Khan, the progenitor and founder of the Rohilla power in India, migrated from his mountain home in Roh to fish in the troubled waters of India. We will now trace his history in the subsequent pages.

The Rohillas.—But before proceeding with the history of Daud Khan, it is proper that we should understand the term 'Rohilla'.³ The Rohillas, it has been accepted by almost all the writers, were inhabitants of the mountainous region called Roh which extends from the Indus to the Hindukush, and includes Bajaur, Kabs, Kandahar and

¹ Best, *Sketches of Daud Khan*, pp. 39-40.

² Barker, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. V, p. 481.

³ The origin and descent of the Afghans have been thoroughly discussed by Bell, Tope, Fardar and Hightower, and as the readers are referred to their works for further information.

Ghazni. From remote antiquity they have occupied this land, and tradition ascribes them a descent from the Issakites of Syria and Palestine, from where they were driven out by Bakht Naara. These dispossessed tribes migrated to the east and settled in the provinces of Ghor and Ghazni. This tradition has been accepted by almost all the Afghan chroniclers, and Hafe Rahmat Khan, in his book *Khatimat-ul-Jasad*,¹ has given a general genealogy of all the tribes, tracing their descent direct from Abraham, the Patriarch of Palestine.

In India the inhabitants of these regions are generally called by three different names, Rohillas, Afghans and Pathans, the first of which is usually applied to the people settled in Rohilkhand, Dhooper and the Deccan.

The Afghans generally use their tribal names to denote their families and dynasties, and it seems strange that the successors and followers of Daud Khan and Ali Muhammad Khan should be called Rohillas. Possibly, as Mr. Tate suggests,² the low origin of Daud Khan, a slave or the freedman of Shah Alam Khan, about whose parentage and family nothing certain was known, might have compelled him to call himself a Rohilla in the absence of any distinguishing surname. His followers also went by the appellation of their commander, and so eventually Katakhar came to be called Rohilkhand, the land of the Rohillas.

The Afghans of Roh are hardy men, brave and enterprising. They are agriculturists, traders, soldiers and robbers, 'whose hands are wield indifferently a cloth measure, a spade, a sword or rifle.'³ India has always been a field for the enterprise of these Afghans, who at times flocked in large numbers to serve in the army of the rulers here. After the battle of Panipat in 1556, they scattered all over the country and some of them settled in Katakhar also. But during the confusion consequent upon the death of Aurangzeb, and the rise of Nadir Shah in Persia, many Afghan adventurers of Roh migrated into India to seek employment or a safe refuge from the persecutions of Nadir Shah. One such early emigrant was Daud Khan, then a dependent in the family of Shihabuddin Khan at Tur Shahanet in Roh.

Shihabuddin Khan.—Excepting a few faint glimpses in the works of

his descendants,* very little is known about the life of Shihabuddin Khan, the ancestor of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. He was a God-fearing pious Afghan Sheikh of Roh, an inhabitant of Potheen Shornwak in the Kandahar District, which was the original home of the tribe of Badakht to which he belonged. He was a Heddaed, one of the sub-sections of Bartritch. It is recorded that in¹ his youth he visited the districts of Attock and Langer Kot, where had already settled some of the families of his tribe, and 'from among them he selected his bride.'² Usually he lived in the hilly land of Chash Hayra. Though often lost in meditation, he moved from place to place and paid occasional visits to the plains. With growing age increased also his solitary rambles in the woods and valleys, where he passed months in prayer and meditation without paying even a chance visit to his family. By hard meditation, he came to possess the power of working miracles, and was reputed all round as a great saint,³ and after death came to be venerated as a Pir. At a good old age he died and was buried on the main road from Peshawar to Kabul, near the village Shakhdar. 'On account of his sanctity he obtained the appellation of Sheikh Kuti Baba,'⁴ because he called himself 'kuta' or dog of the Almighty.

He had three sons,⁵ Pal, Adam and Mahmud, the last of whom took the appellation of Sheikh Mota Baba, and migrated from Potheen Shornwak to reside at Tor Shikhanet, of which place he became the

* The main authorities for this segment are *Khutbat-ul-Jum'ah*, *Qasidat-ul-Rahmat*, *Qut-ul-Rahmat* and *Adab-ul-Hayat*, all written by the descendants of Shihabuddin Khan. The MSs consulted were those of the Rampur State.

N.B.—The account in the subsequent pages has been derived from the original authorities. So far as it was discussed by any English writer, Mr John Strachey relying mainly upon Hamilton has brushed it off in a few paragraphs of his book. I have consulted an Urdu work *Adab-ul-Usul* by Majnunullah of Rampur rather freely, but corrections are my own and differ generally from those of Ghose who is at places very unsifted.

¹ *Qasidat-ul-Rahmat*, 16 in *Qut-ul-Rahmat*, p. 4, *Khutbat-ul-Jum'ah*, p. 22, Rampur MS.

² *Qasidat-ul-Rahmat*, 16 in *Qut-ul-Rahmat*, p. 4, *Khutbat-ul-Jum'ah*, p. 22.

³ *Khutbat-ul-Jum'ah*, MS., p. 26.

⁴ *Khutbat*, p. 6.

⁵ Qasidat Ali Khan in his book *Amudshahada* writes, 'He had two sons, elder Husein Khan and younger Shah Alam Khan.' The statement is wrong; at Shah Alam Khan and Husein Khan were the grandsons of Shihabuddin Khan. Hafiz Rahmat Khan's *Khutbat-ul-Jum'ah* is the most reliable authority on this point. Also Wafaiyah, *Tarikh Faruqshahad*, Rampur MS., pp. 77-81. *Khutbat-ul-Jum'ah*, MS., pp. 40-41.

Sejjidmanbin. He had five sons,¹ the youngest of whom was Shah Alam Khan, 'the father of Hafez Rahmat Khan. Moti Baba also followed the example of his father and passed his days in devotional exercises. 'His character was held in high veneration' by the fierce Afghans, who respected him for his piety, generosity and sympathy.

Shah Alam Khan.—Shah Alam Khan was the youngest son of Moti Baba. He got a fairly handsome property in the partition of the patrimonies. It is stated in *Feroz Shah*, which Hamilton copies, that Shah Alam Khan and his older brother Humayn Khan came to Katsbar in the reign of Shah Jahan and settled there as petty traders but having had indifferent success returned to their paternal land.² But this account remains unsupported by Hafez Rahmat Khan or his descendants. Nothing can with certainty be said on this point, but silence on the part of those who were in a position to know better means something. It is not improbable that he came to India on occasional commercial trips as a horse-dealer, in which capacity we find him later on coming to see Daud Khan. But a settlement in Katsbar seems to be a fancy of the writer of *Feroz Shah* who has often meretriciously given such other unauthorised and unsupported statements. Certain it is, nevertheless, that Shah Alam Khan was in Roh when Daud Khan, the Rohilla adventurer, came to Katsbar and began his military career which ultimately led to the foundation of Rohilla power in the vicinity of the Mughal capital.

Early Life of Daud Khan.—A shroud of mystery envelopes the origin of Daud Khan. Chroniclers with diverse motives have given various conflicting statements, but leaving aside one or two³ all agree in ascribing him no direct descent from Shihabuddin Khan. Some

¹ Five sons: 1. Asad, 2. Shahdad, 3. Hakim, 4. Hasan and 5. Shah Alam. — *Khutbat-ul-Jamia*, MS. p. 45.

² Hamilton's *Rohilla History*, p. 82. He writes, 'In the 165th year of the Hijra (A.D. 1672) two brothers Shah Alam Khan and Humayn Khan, having founded their native settlements, settled in Katsbar, where they procured some employment under the officers of the Mughal Government, but nothing further is related of them worthy of notice.' Also *Khutbat-ul-Jamia*, p. 120 (Lucknow ed.). In *Feroz Shah*, Rampur MS, it is slightly different. He writes, 'Shah Alam Khan came in the reign of Shah Jahan and engaged in trade.' *Feroz Shah*, p. 82. Rampur MS.

The difference is due perhaps to the different MSs used.

³ Shan Feroz, author of *Feroz Shah*; and Hamilton and not the son Shah Alam Khan. Also *Khutbat-ul-Jamia* MS., p. 120.

hold that he was a slave¹ of Shah Alam Khan, while others describe him as an adopted son. The authors of *Gulshan-i-Rahmat* and *Gul-i-Rahmat* say that he fell to the share of Shah Alam Khan in the division of his patrimony, 'who, having no issue, treated him with care and affection and left the whole management to him'.² The author of *Al-Bihar Hameen* gives a different story. He writes, 'Shah Alam Khan had no issue for a long time, and as the desire of a child immensely ranted in his heart, he brought up a boy handsome, good-natured and intelligent, as his own son and named him Daud Khan'.³ There are some others who erroneously call him either a soldier or an adopted son of Shihabuddin Khan.⁴ Anyway, he was well educated by Shah Alam Khan, and being intelligent and ambitious, he could not reconcile himself to the peaceful surroundings of rural life, and hence turned his eyes to the martial career of an Afghan, the profession of arms, for which India, when civil wars were convulsing the whole land from north to south, offered a wide field. He came to India in the first year of the reign of Bahadur Shah, which was, as has been shown before, a favourable moment for such an adventurer. With or without the permission of his patron, he left the comfortable home in Roh, and proceeded to Hindustan to enlist under any one who would give him fair terms. The *Isar-us-Saudat*, has an interesting story relating to this period of Daud's life. It says that he tried hard but could get no employment for some time, and then wrote to Shihabuddin⁵ that he would go to the Deccan in search of service. On this Shihabuddin Khan sent him a *darfat* of one thousand rupees asking him to keep two hundred rupees for his own expenses and with the remainder to purchase some mares at the Hardwar fairs and send them home. Daud Khan went to Hardwar and purchased mares worth seven hundred rupees, but sent home only two of them, and kept the rest with him. Some more nobles gathered round him, among whom he

¹ *Jam-e-Jahan Numa*, Rampur MS., p. 64.

² *Gulshan-i-Rahmat* & *Gul-i-Rahmat* : see *Rampur MS.*, *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 11. *Al-Bihar Hameen* 288.

³ *Al-Bihar Hameen*, Rampur MS., p. 11.

⁴ Adopted son of Shihabuddin—*Isar-us-Saudat* (Lucknow ed.), p. 46. *Babbar-Walidshah, Farikh Furakhshah*, Rampur MS., p. 77.

⁵ The unreliability of the story is evident from the fact that it makes Shihabuddin live at the time, though he was dead long ago, as is shown by *Al-Bihar Hameen* and other works. The book was written early in the nineteenth century and up his testimony cannot be regarded as original.

distributed these mares, and began the career of a highway man. A rich Hindu had come to bathe in the Ganges and had with him only a small retinue of foot-soldiers. While going back on his chariot, accompanied by a cart and the retainers, he was followed by Daud Khan and his companions. For two days they could not dare to reveal their real purpose, but after the third stage, finding him with only six or seven retainers, the rest having been left behind with the luggage cart, they rushed upon him and put to the sword the unsuspecting weak liveried followers of the Hindu. The master too could not escape the fate of his poor servants, and was soon cut to pieces. He got some gold ornaments on the person of the Hindu, and gold pouches and many other valuable articles in his luggage. The Nagar bullocks too formed part of the booty. Then leaving the main road leading to Haridly, he entered the thick forest with the booty acquired in his first enterprise, and there wandered from place to place like a robber. Gradually he collected a following of 80 horsemen and 300 foot-soldiers, and built a mud fortress therein.¹

This romantic account invites attention. Many a man, who founded a dynasty in mediæval history, began his career in a similar way. His Afghan character sought gratification in robbery and plunder. But this story can hardly be accepted as the whole truth. The information of the writer from whom it comes cannot be relied upon as genuine and first-hand. But it is the most plausible account of his early career and in the case of silence on the part of the other circumstancers and authorities, we might accept it as a possible occupation of the adventurer before he entered the service of Madar Shah. To India he may have come with the pretence of buying horses at Haridwar, but his aim seems to have been to settle in this country. Fortune favoured him and he adopted Katchar, the province nearest to Haridwar as the field for his adventures.

The Situation in Katchar.—Situated on the left bank of the Ganges and stretching to the foot of the Hinduayās, where it suddenly merges into the material tracts called Tāxi, the usual abode of fierce tigers, Katchar had been from remote antiquity the home of independent

¹ *Hasht-i-Sanad* (Lucknow ed.), p. 62.

² *Wāḥidshāh-i-Jawāid-Nawāzshāhī*, pp. 74-75. *Samgah-i-Nāsir*.

The story in both the books is the same. Perhaps one has copied from the other. There is similarity in other points also.

turbulent Rajput chiefs. Its geographical situation favours rebels safe from invasions by the Imperial forces for more than six months in the year owing to the flood waters of the Ganges, they could with impunity withhold the Imperial revenues. The royal representative at Muradabad was too weak by himself to crush them without help from the capital. This security facilitated the basis of the seminara, and defence of the royal authority became an established practice with them. Muhammadan rulers, ever since their advent into this country, had to face the constant results of the intractable Katsaharyas. Rajputs.¹ Mughal authority had been felt under the Great Moghals, and then we hear of very few insurrections. But in the last days of the Emperor Aurangzeb, rebellion raised its head again. 'In 1679 Muhammad Rafi was appointed to the governorship of Katsahar, and during his rule the Katsaharyas and Jangahars rose in revolt, with the result that when Aurangzeb died . . . all Rohilkhand was in a state of complete anarchy.'² Civil wars between the sons of the late Emperor for the throne relaxed the hold of the Central Government, and there began an interminable war for lands and boundaries among the various seminara, and a revolt against the authority of the Fanjdar.

The province was divided into two Sarkars, with a Faujdar stationed at Muradabad, who was always a grandee of the Empire, and was usually a soldier of reputation. At this time, Muhammad Azim Khan Chin Bahadur³ nephew to Chin Kulich Khan (afterwards the famous Nizam-ul-mulk) was appointed to the Faujdari of Muradabad by Bahadur Shah when he emerged successful from the fratricidal war. He was not feared by the many seminara who were in possession of big estates all over the province. Nurpat Singh was the commander of Pipri; Kirat Singh of Akbarabad; Kunja Singh of Rajpur; Khem Karan of Katangarh; Madar Shah and Lachman Singh of Mudhar in

¹ After the death of Muhammad Tughluq the seminara (then called *shiqadars*) of Katsahar rose in revolt against his weak and degenerate successors. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarrat Shahi* gives information about many such revolts and the invasions of the Imperial armies. (*Erhw*, vol. IV, pp. 14, 40-60) This weakness of the establishment of the Mughal rule when the strength and stability of the empire gave them an opportunity to take their head. But with the degeneration of the later Mughals, their rebellious became constant, until they were driven out by the British.

² *Chronicle of Empire*, p. 144.

³ *Tristan, Later Mughals*, vol. I, p. 131.

Pargana Bursair; and Arjun Singh that of Aonla. Badam was the seat of the governorship till the reign of Shahjahan, when it was transferred to Bareilly, and Badam sank into insignificance. Bareilly was the seat of a Faujdar whose authority was supreme in the vicinity of the head-quarters. Shahjahanpur was in the possession of the successors of Bahadurkhan Daudai, the founder of the city, and was the chief stronghold of the Pathan power in the south, but it was still under the nominal authority of the governor of Badam and Bareilly. The Tarai lands were administered by the Raja of Kumaon, who had not yet sunk low in degeneration. It was the safe resort of the Zemindars and Rias when pressed hard by the royal army. Owing to its distance the Tarai could not be well controlled from the seat of Empire in Delhi.

A desire to extend their limited possessions led the Rajput chiefs of Katakhar to fight amongst themselves.¹ Quite unmindful of the bloodshed and the loss and inconvenience to their subjects, they fought against their neighbours for a small strip of land, with characteristic pertinacity. Little regard, in such times, was paid to the welfare of the poor peasants, who were compelled to fight for their chiefs, in whose quarrels they had little interest. When villages and hamlets were burnt to ashes, the life and property of the farmers was sure to be in jeopardy. Night raids on hostile camps disturbed the calm repose of the peace-loving hardy agriculturists. Their savings earned by hard labour in sun and rain were plundered in the night; their sons and wives were captured to work as slaves in the household of the victorious enemy. All this was done not for their betterment certainly, but for the gratification of the beastly greed of their chiefs. Under such circumstances, that incentive to work which comes with security and the prospect of an undisturbed possession was stifled; and the provinces richly endowed by nature was turned into a desert.

Politically, the constant civil strife of the Rajput chiefs weakened their resources for combating an external foe; and combined action, either defensive or offensive, was unknown to them. Thus, they were secure in their mud forts in the heart of impenetrable forests, amidst glens and valleys, but a powerful invader was sure to crush them one by one; as ultimately happened when the Rais took possession of

¹ This description cannot apply to the vigorous periods of Mohammedan rule, particularly under the Great Moghals.

the province. In the time of the Tughluqs and Sayyids, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the whole of the province was almost always in the possession of one sole Musalman. But now this small tract was divided among a dozen zamindars and more, who could not individually muster even a few thousand soldiers. Their revenues were meagre, and they could not sustain a long siege. When such was their state, it is easy to imagine the rise of an adventurer, bold, persevering and tactful who appropriated the whole country to himself and 'drove the Rajputs across the Ganges.'

Their interminable warfare led them to appoint foreigners and adventurers with their small followings. These soldiers of fortune hired themselves out now to one and then to another. Money was their chief motive. Their treachery and defection at the most critical moment very often decided the issue of a battle. Their facinor was always increased by the vast booty falling to their share in the plunder of villages near the battle-field. Their employers gave them villages and mahals in Jagh for their maintenance. The leaders of these mercenaries acquired the status of zamindars themselves, and by waging wars on their own account, added considerably to their original holdings. In this way Daud Khan began his career in Katehar and got a large Jagir in the vicinity of Aonla.

Daud Khan's Service with Asaf Shah.—As has been previously shown, Daud Khan began a predatory career and collected a large following of similarly placed Afghans, who swarmed the plains of Northern India like ravenous vultures in search of prey. A strong, daring and capable leader in the person of Daud Khan led them on to bold enterprises, and in a very short time became the terror of the whole land. From his mad barrows in the bushy forests, he rushed out frequently like a falcon, with his followers, and preyed on the petty zamindars of the neighbourhood. But this predatory activity could not last long, for his name was very soon famous for hevery all over the province, and hence he was taken into service by one Rajput chief or another. His services were always welcome to the contending chiefs who settled their private quarrels by force of arms. In this way Daud Khan passed a few years, till he was engaged, about the time that Farrukhsiyar came to the throne, by the zamindar

of Mudkar, whose name was Mader Shah,¹ a Rajput brave and courageous in battle. He was perhaps the most powerful chief in the neighbourhood, for his help was sought in settling the disputes between other zamindars. He kept a large force of Rajputs and Mussalmans, and was feared by the other Mads. To add further to his strength, he employed Daud Khan and his followers, and assigned some villages for their maintenance.

There he was constantly engaged in fighting the wars of his master and his confederates. Very soon after, Khem Karan, the zamindar of Ratnagarh, attacked Kaachen Singh of Rajpur, and plundered the town. Kaachen Singh complained to Mader Shah and wanted his help against the offender. The latter dispatched a large force composed of Rajputs and Pathans, under his two sons, Chaitra Singh and Parbat Singh, and deputed Daud Khan as well for their assistance. The allied armies were successful over the hosts of Khem Karan. The vanquished fled from the field of battle, and the victors plundered the baggage of the retiring army, and the villages in the enemy's territory. Bakauli was looted by Daud Khan and his comrades,² and it is mentioned by some chroniclers, that he captured there a boy of about eight or nine years, whom he adopted and named Ali Muhammad Khan,³ and who ultimately became the Nawab of Rohilkhand and the founder of the Rohilla suzerainty in Kashi. Much booty, besides, fell to the share of the mercenary band of the Pathans. This was one of the many engagements he fought in the service of this powerful chief. This Afghan force under Daud Khan added more to the lustre of Mader Shah; but Daud's fame, too, could not long remain concealed. He was reputed for his courage and bravery all over the province, and was held in esteem by the chiefs of the neighbourhood.⁴ He came

¹ The author of *Adab-ul-Sanadid*, the Urdu work referred to above, calls him 'Mader Sahel' saying that 'Mader Shah' is an uncommon name for the Ghazis. But in '*Furikh-i-Jumra Khawar-i-Bangash*,' an Urdu history of Farrukhabad written in the later eighteenth century, 'Mader Shah' is given as the name of the Raja of Jalaun and Etah. I conclude that this was a common name and so have kept it as it is in the citations.

Furikh-i-Jumra Khawar-i-Bangash, Aligarh University MSS., p. 11.

² *Gulistan-i-Rohat*, MSS. 17a.

³ *Gulistan-i-Rohat*, 17a; *Gul-i-Rohat*, p. 7; *Rajpur MSS.*

⁴ *Gul-i-Rohat*, p. 7, *Rajpur MSS.*

⁵ Daud Khan was a brave man and in the eyes of the zamindars had secured a great name.

according to the statement in *Chul-i-Raknat*, with 200 men in the service of Madai Shah,¹ but hearing of his bravery and capacity for leadership bands of Pathan adventurers, prompted by the ambition of a military career, swelled the ranks of his followers.² Brothers in adversity, co-absents in prosperity, all stood shoulder to shoulder, and by treachery, doubt or faithful service made themselves rich and powerful. It is not certain how long he lived at Madiai, for the chroniclers most indefinitely write, 'served under many big *samindars* and *Rajas*'.³ However, he had in a very short time acquired a considerable estate in the *rowais* given to him by his employers, both in land and money, and fixed his headquarters at Danyal Hoods. At this time he commanded a force of about five hundred men,⁴ both horse and foot, for whom upkeep he acquired a large income.

Hamilton, perhaps wrongly, reverses the sequence of events noted above and writes, 'Daoud collecting together some followers, offered himself and was admitted as a volunteer into an army sent by the vizier to oppose the marauds of the Mahabutas, who were . . . laying waste the country between Narwar and Gwalior, and extending their depredations towards the banks of the Jumna.—On this expedition Daoud distinguished himself by his bravery; and being on a particular occasion, detached from the main army, had the address to surprise and cut off a party of the enemy, bringing in with him some elephants and other spoils.'

¹ As a reward for this service, Daoud, on the return of the royal forces, obtained a grant of a little district in the territory of Budason, which forms part of Rohilkhand; but a retired life he seeking (with) his active and enterprising spirit, he presently recruited his little force, consisting of the first followers of his countrymen, and with these rendered many services to the neighbouring *Rajahs* and *Kinsardars*. . .² This seems to be a mistake arising from the identification of Daud Khan Rohilla with Daud Khan Panai, who was also an Afghan, and who had distinguished himself in the Deccan campaigns against the Mahabutas. The contemporary chronicles would certainly have mentioned him as deserving of royal favours, if he had taken an active part in the Deccan

¹ *Chul-i-Raknat*, p. 7, *Asanpur MSS.*

² *Akbar Afkash*, p. 11; *Asanpur MSS.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Hamilton, *Rohilla Afghans*, pp. 22-23.

were. There is no reference met with regarding this in the succinct but continuous account of his career in the Rohilla chronicles. In view of the above, it seems clear that Hamilton has mistaken him for Daud Khan Panni. There is no evidence that Daud Khan the Rohilla, had any concern whatsoever with the royal authority in his life, and a Jagir from the emperor would, therefore, be out of the question. As will be seen later, he associated himself closely with Asmatullah Khan, the Faujdar of Muradabad, and through him farmed the revenue of some villages. But at this time, when he was hiring himself out to different chiefs, he could not have got anything from the state.

Death of Shah Alam Khan.—When he was thus securely established in the service of Madar Shah, and had fixed his residence at Buniya Baoli, many ambitious Afghans, and his neighbours and kinsmen of Roh flocked to him. At this time came also Malik Shadi Khan, Palanda Khan, Dundi Khan, Sardar Khan, and Sedar Khan Kamalaki, all Afghans of Roh, who became famous generals in the service of his successors. There came to him about 500 Afghans from Roh, who settled in Katohar under his leadership, thereby increasing his strength considerably.

Hearing the story of his great-uncle, his old patron Shah Alam Khan¹ also left his peaceful home, and braved the risks of a journey to the distant Katohar. Whether emotion or self interest was his motive, it is difficult to say. Perhaps a kind regard for his old man, now in advanced age, might have prompted him to leave his home in such old age. After a toilsome journey he came to Buniya Baoli, and was received by Daud Khan with the respect due to his age and position. He remained there for a short time, and at his departure for home, Daud Khan gave him a large sum of money. Shah Alam Khan went back, but a few years after came again and was received warmly. This time he had come with the intention of taking Daud

¹In *Jadid-nasir* and *Tarikh Faraidunisi* of Wazirah the time of Shah Alam Khan's arrival is placed in the days of Ali Muhammad Khan after the death of Daud Khan. They blame Ali Muhammad for his swarthy writing that Shah Alam Khan called him the son of his slave which provocation led him to order his assassination. This is improbable as the other authorities are explicit about the time saying that Kadir Rahmat Khan was only four years old. In the case of Shah Alam's murder in the time of Ali Muhammad Khan five years after the death of Daud Khan, we will have to put some other age of Kadir. The mistake is due to their wrong information.—*Asad-us-Sanad*, p. 45, Wazirah; *Tarikh Faraidunisi* MSH., p. 78.

Khan back to Roh, for his affairs there were suffering for want of an efficient supervisor. But Daud could not leave his hard-won acquisitions and for ever separate himself from a career of fame and ambition. He persuaded Shah Alam Khan to leave him alone, and giving him a large amount at the time of departure, promised a sum of rupees 2,000 a year regularly, which would compensate him for the loss of his personal services.

On this promise Shah Alam Khan left him and returned to Rah, but on his way he was detained by certain horse dealers, to whom Daud Khan owed some money. This plan proved quite successful, for the conscientious old man left all his goods with the merchants at Delhi and returned to Kather to expostulate with Daud. Money was duly sent to the merchants and the goods were released, but Shah Alam Khan could not now leave his old ward to oppress the poor and deceive the rich. The God-fearing conscience within him was touched and he could not bear the idea of the impotent curses of the oppressed poor against Daud Khan. All excuses and permissions of Daud were of no avail. In the end Daud Khan resorted to violence and ordered a few of his men to assassinate the old pious, good intentioned man in the gloomy silence of a dark night in the forest near Badoun.

Daud Khan was invited by the Amil of Badoun, a representative of Muhammad Khan Bengash, Nawab of Farrukhabad, to assist him in a contest with certain zamindars of the vicinity. Daud Khan was quite glad to assist his co-religionist and compatriot against the Hindu zamindars. He set out to join him with Shah Alam Khan in his company, whom the four assassins, who had been hired by Daud Khan, attacked in the darkness of the night when he was quite alone and severed the head from the body. The darkness of the night could not conceal this hideous crime, and when news reached Daud Khan, he feigned sorrow at the event; but tears could not wipe off the stain on his character. Orders were issued to find out the culprits, and his body, in the meantime, was buried in the jungle outside Badoun, on which a mazarbstein was raised afterwards by Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the son of the deceased.¹

A different version is met with in the pages of *Abdus Samad*,² which absolves Daud Khan entirely from the guilt. It mentions that

¹ *Gulistan-i-Khawar*, I 8 and 9; *Gul-i-Aybanat*, p. 8, Rampur MSS.

² *Abdus Samad*, p. 19, Rampur MSS.

Shah Alam Khan was attacked by a party of thieves while going from Badam, whither he had come with Daud Khan, with his goods and money to his native land, and was killed with two or three men more in the encounter. Daud Khan tried hard to trace out the culprits, but they could not be found. The authors of *Guldshahr-Rahmat* and *Gul-i-Rahmat* represent that the perpetrators of the crime met with divine vengeance, for three of them were killed the next evening, and one became a leper who survived to tell the tale of his guilt.

On such intricate questions nothing can be said with certainty, but we cannot acquit Daud Khan of complicity in this crime. He was provoked by the instant demand of Shah Alam Khan to go back to Roh, and fearing lest the old man should call him a slave before his followers, in which case his honour and prestige were in danger, he might have adopted the secret means to clear his path from similar obstructions in future. There is always a conflict between power and principle, and ambition waits not to consider the softer emotions of a weak man. His whole career was one of adventure, treachery and rapine. He was bound by no filial gratitude to the old man whose house he had left to try his luck in Hindustan. To get rid of him, and to escape being constantly reminded of his late dependance on an old man's generosity, he may have resorted to secret assassination, so that it might pass as an accident and give no offence to the other Afghans who were closely related to Shah Alam Khan. The *Afshar History* perhaps adopted the version given by Daud Khan and his associates. His treachery against the Rajah of Kurnam later on, and his early career strengthen the suspicion against him.

This event happened some time about the last days of the reign of Farrukhsiyar, on Friday 9th Rabi'ul-Hi,¹ of an unknown year. Shah Alam Khan left behind a son, Rahmat Khan (Hafiz), then a child a few years old. His goods were sent to Tor Sheharnai by the merchants at Daud when they had got their spoy.

Service with Rafe of Kurnam and death of Daud Khan.—Daud Khan lived for a short time longer in the service of Nadir Shah, and then joined Asmatullah Khan at Muradabad in expectation of royal favour and more lucrative employment under the Mughal Emperor. He farmed the revenue of some villages from the government and passed his days in prosperity with his followers.

Then a few years after, he entered the service of Raja Dabi Chand of Kannau, who had succeeded to the throne in A. D. 1790. He was made commander of the forces stationed on the plains at Kanhipur. The acquisition of Daud Khan with his followers increased the strength of the Raja, who was 'led to believe that the Raja of Kannau was one of the greatest princes in the world'. Naturally his ambition turned towards the occupation of the Terai lands lying south of his dominions, which had once formed part of the Kingdom of Kannau. He was seeking reasonable *casus belli* to invade the imperial lands and snatch them from the hands of the degenerate Mughal emperors. At this time one Babu Shah who professed to belong to the royal family raised the standard of revolt against the legitimate authority in the Terai lands and collecting a large number of Afghans, invaded Kaskar, but he was repulsed by Asmatullah Khan. He went to Kannau and sought help from Raja Dabi Chand, promising that he would give Kaskar to the Raja when he was seated on the throne of Delhi. The Raja thought himself strong enough to raise the pretender to the throne in place of Muhammad Shah, and so proclaimed him Emperor of India. Daud Khan was ordered to combine with Babu Shah and the Adhikari of Kaskar against the imperial army. Asmatullah Khan was deputed by the Imperial Government to quell the disturbance, and he came to the field with 15,000 men and 12 elephants. Besides, he had secretly bribed Daud Khan to desert the Raja when the engagement had begun.

Amity and avarice proved stronger than fidelity.¹ The persuasion was effective, and when the two armies met at Nagina, Daud Khan treacherously left the field and stood aside to watch the events of the day.

The forces of Kannau were routed and the Adhikari represented the treachery of Daud Khan to Raja Dabi Chand. The Raja called the Pathan general to his court, and pretending ignorance of his late action, increased his pay and accorded him a hearty reception. After thus securing him in his power, he ordered his legs to be cut off and the sinews to be drawn out, which caused his death. He was buried near Thakurdwara by the officers of Dabi Chand, and his family was

¹ *Akbar Nama* MS., p. 11.

² He played treachery to Raja Dabi Chand either for fear of Emperor or love of Asmatullah Khan.

allowed to retreat unmolested to Muradabad. The treachery was justly punished and thus ended the life of Dand Khan after a stormy career of about sixteen years in India in the year A. D. 1724 or 1725.¹

He left behind him his adopted son Ali Muhammad Khan and his own son Mahmud Khan, the former of whom was raised to the command of the small army by Dand Khan and others, and was taken into the service of Asmatullah Khan in consideration of the sacrifice of his adoptive father.²

Dand Khan's Character.—Dand Khan was a brave and adventurous Afghan, unscrupulous in adjusting means to ends. He was a natural leader of men who rose from a humble trooper to the independent command of a large number of Afghan soldiers and officers. In his wars he was almost always successful, and his fortitude, courage and military skill were amply rewarded by his employers. His life was one of constant struggles and engagements. Beginning life as a robber he ended it as a treacherous general guilty of serious defection and dereliction of duty. The greatest stain on his character is the murder of his patron Shah Alau Khan, who was entitled to gratitude from him. But with all his defects, he was a great soldier and general who laid the foundations of the Rohilla power in Kotehar.

¹ *Gulistan-i-Ikbal*, MS. F. 18 b, *Gul-i-Ikbal*, p. 18.

² *Gul-i-Ikbal*, pp. 38-41, *Gulistan-i-Ikbal*, I. IIa, *Ranpur MSS.*, *Ashtar Shamsi*, p. 14.

Dr. Aiyangar on the Vakatakas

BY

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[We publish with pleasure the following critical note of Mr Y R Gupta on our papers on the Vakatakas. We trust them the liberty to add a few notes which it is hoped will meet with his approval.—Ed.]

DR. VERNER A. HARRIS had contributed an interesting article to the *J.R.A.S.* for 1914 in which he dealt with many doubtful points in the history of the Vakatakas in a most capable manner. Dr. H. Krishnaswami Aiyangar later on published two articles, one on 'The Vakatakas and their place in the History of India,' one in the *Annals of the Mysore-Literary Institute* and the other on 'The Vakatakas in Gupta History' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*,* in which he brought forward a wealth of evidence from the *Puranas* and a work written by Rāmanātha, to bear out the facts that the two dynasties, the Guptas and the Vakatakas were fighting for sovereignty and that though the latter could boast of a succession of rulers as proved by the expression '*krantiputras*' in the legend on their seals, the former in the end succeeded in the bid for paramount power. Somehow or other a reconciliation was brought about between the two dynasties, the result of which was that the political relations passed on smoothly. Even the greatest of the Gupta emperors did not, in the Doctor's opinion, invade the territories of the Vakatakas,¹ though he swept past to the south. This shows that friendly relations between these two dynasties existed. To crown all the renowned daughter of Chandragupta II was espoused by Rudrasena II. The marriage alliance had also a political object, viz. that of securing Chandragupta's flank² against the Śaka intruders of the west, who were later on uprooted. Dr. Aiyangar's attention might be drawn to Dr. Smith's remarks in

* Vol. v, part i, 1923-24, pp. 81-84.

¹ Vol. xv, No. 1, p. 1382. I was furnished with an excerpt of it, of which pages are quoted in this paper.

² The Vakatakas in Gupta History, p. 2.

³ 1914.

the *J.R.A.S.* for 1924 and to my foot-note 3 on page 58, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xx, 1924, No. 1. One is inclined to think that the credit is due mostly to the early Imperial Guptas for their enlightened policy of conciliating an earlier great power and to cement that friendship. Had they pushed too far, probably they would not have succeeded. But even if their efforts would have been crowned with success, their military power would have been much weakened and their throne would have been tottering to the detriment of the dynasty and of Northern and Central India by their domestic fight.

The duty of tracing the offspring of Kuchasena II and Prabhavati-gupta fortunately devolved upon Kailāśa, the greatest court-poet of Chandragupta II, who, to commemorate his friendship with his eminent pupil began one of his poems of extraordinary merit, viz., *Māghadūta* by the mention in the very first stanza of Rāmāgiri, which in Dr. Aiyangar's opinion was his capital¹ but which being a very sacred place probably was only much frequented by the Vīkīṭaka rulers. Curiously enough a fresh grant edited by me in the *J.A.S.B.*² was issued from the feet of the God of this very Rāmāgiri (*Rāmāgiri-mandirādīśvaramahārāj*). Dr. Aiyangar will do well to elucidate this point.

The short account of the Pooda plates of Prabhavati-gupta, given by Prof. Pathak in the *Indian Antiquary* (and we may now say the article on them by the Professor and Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the *Ep. Ind.*)³ proved beyond dispute that Dēvagupta was only a nickname of Chandragupta II. This was a great point gained in regard to the history and relations of the two formerly rival dynasties.

A great service to the history of the dynasty of the Vīkīṭakas has been done by Dr. Aiyangar by identifying the Vindhyaśakti of the *Purāṇa* with the Vindhyaśakti, the ancestor of the Vīkīṭaka rulers. Much confusion reigned regarding the belief that Vindhyaśakti was a Yavana in contradiction to the Ajanta record where he is described as a *dvīpa* or 'twice-born.' The Doctor has on the whole succeeded in establishing the identification though some details may not carry conviction. The readings of the Ajanta inscriptions,

¹ The Vīkīṭakas and their place in the *History of India*, p. 48.

² Vol. xii, New Series, 1924, No. I, pp. 38-40.

Vol. xv, pp. 38-44.

[illegible]

Another interesting point which is elucidated by him is the identification of the 'king of the Bhōja' with the Vīkātaka. The country over which the Yāktakas ruled is evidently Vidarbha or Berar, the people of which province from the time of the *Maurya Bhāshya* are known as the Bhōja. This explains the fact why in literature the name Vīkātaka nowhere occurs. Further Rāmakrishṇ in his commentary *Māhātmya-sūtra* on *Pravaraśāstra* 'Śāntadatta Kāvya' says that according to some *Pravaraśāstra* was Bhūjādēva. It should be noted (I would point out) that the tradition in the Deccan, viz. Kāśīkīa flourished in the reign of King Bhōja is extremely well explained by the supposition that *Pravaraśāstra* was a Bhūjādēva that is 'a king of the Bhōja'. For Bhūjādēva in this sense, through utter ignorance, Bhūjādēva (properly spelt King Bhōja and not the king of the Bhōja) of Dhār was substituted. The name 'Vīkātaka' in short was a clan name or a family name.

From the study of the Kshatras cotas, it is evident that the period extending from A.D. 305 to A.D. 348 is marked by the absence of the office of a Mahakshatrapa. A collateral dynasty set itself up with the inferior rank of a Kshatrapa. There is a cessation even of this inferior position from A.D. 332 to A.D. 348. According to the *Puranas*, Pravarasena I, extended his authority into the territory of the Vindhya, at the expense chiefly more or less of the Kshatrapas.

* The potential pitfall in the two suggestions are really not affected. If the readings are outside in regard to the first the suggested-reading is superfluous, but are they? In so the second what is wanted is 'Fülle' before *Alles*. The suggested reading is on the basis of equivalent length for the first half of the verse. (Hd.)

* The Villalobos to Ochoa History, p. 7.

There is another break between the years A.D. 351 and 394 during the reign of Prithivishila I, who perhaps extended the Vāṭikāka territory. Śikhāśāna's titles were Rāja Mahā-Kaśatrpa and Mahārāja Kaśatrpa. The latter transformation might be due to the Vāṭikāka title Mahārāja.¹

Dr. Aiyangar remarks :—'Chandragupta was responsible for the foundation of the empire. The Vāṭikākas made it possible for him to do so by desisting from hostility and even actually countenancing the effort. Was there a larger motive in the foundation of the empire, and did contemporaries see any general advantage in the gradual rise of Chandragupta I to this position?'² If we read between the lines, is the Doctor's opinion here was an attempt to found an Indian or rather a Northern and Central Indian empire or a 'federation of states' of these provinces against outsiders or at least against Scythians. His further elucidation of the problem before us is welcome.

Thus it will be seen that Dr. Aiyangar has thrown a flood of light on the history of the Vāṭikākas and the Guptas.

Now I must do the unpleasant duty of drawing the readers' attention to small mistakes, which have crept into his articles, omissions and differences of opinion, and shortcomings of his article. On 'The Vāṭikākas and their place in the history of India' and other places he writes the name of the Dowager queen as Prabhavati-guptā.³ In her Poona and Biddhapura plates the spelling is Prabhavati-guptā. Prof. Peethak and Mr. K. N. Dikshit have shown that it is quite in accordance with the rules of grammar.

Dr. Aiyangar believes that Samudra-gupta's conquests do not include any part of the Deccan proper. He observes that 'Ērṇodagall' and 'Daiṇvarikāṣṭra', two places located by Dr. Fleet in Western Deccan indefinitely, have since been satisfactorily identified with places on the east coast region of Kāśhā.⁴ My acquaintance with the Kāśhā country is not thick and I do not propose to discuss the identifications. But I am inclined to agree with Dr. Fleet in believing that 'Ērṇodagall' and 'Daiṇvarikāṣṭra' or rather 'Dāṇvarikāṣṭra' lay in the Deccan. 'Ērṇodagall' is apparently 'Erpāḍol' in the East Khandesh District.

¹ The Vāṭikākas and their place in the *History of India*, pp. 42-43.

² The Vāṭikākas in *Gupta History*, p. 11.

³ This is a very silly due to over sight in print. (A.S.)

⁴ The Vāṭikākas in *Gupta History*, p. 4.

which I am informed abounds in remains of the Gupta period. The form Yāraṇjavallipur (a corruption of Śrāṇjavallipur) occurs in a work written more than 250 years ago.¹ In Dāvarāṣṭra or more correctly Dēvarāṣṭra apparently parts of the modern Khālsur and Kāhāl Talukas of the Betwa District of the Bombay Presidency were included. There is still a village called Dēvarāṣṭrī in the Khālsur Taluka six miles from the Kuṇḍala station on the B M R line. Curiously enough, the holiest object there, a *linga* of Śiva, is called Saṃudraśvara in the grants made. What grounds are there for dubbing it that the god was not named after Saṃudra-gupta? At any rate the names Dēvarāṣṭra and Saṃudraśvara are sufficiently tempting for identifying the region round Dēvarāṣṭra with 'Daharāṣṭra' or 'Dēvarāṣṭra' of Saṃudra-gupta's time, and the god enshrined there (though he may not occupy perhaps the very site) as suggesting a reminiscence of the great conqueror.² If the above identification be correct, Dr. Aiyangar's statement, viz. it 'is certain that Saṃudra-gupta's southern invasion kept clearly and deliberately outside the frontiers of the territory of the Vākīpakas' will have to be modified. For 'Kuntala' he has used the word 'the Mahratta country.' A more accurate term would be 'the Southern Marāṭha country.' The River Kṛṣṇā nearly formed the boundary of 'Kuntala.' Probably Kuṇḍala itself is a reminiscence of 'Kuntala.' It will thus be seen that the country called 'Dēvarāṣṭra' was not out of the list of conquests of Saṃudra-gupta. Dr. Aiyangar on p. 1 of his paper on 'The Vākīpakas in Gupta History' refers to the kings of Āryāvarta vanquished by Saṃudra-gupta. I wish to draw his attention to Mr. K. N. Dikshit's paper read before the 'First Oriental Conference' held at Poona.

He has referred to Nechani-ki-taliḥ inscription of Vyāghradēva,³ the feudatory of Prithivishila, which is the oldest one of the Vākīpaka dynasty and which was assigned to the fifth or the sixth century A.D.

¹ Account of the sixth Conference of the Indira-Praja Parishad, Madras, p. 208.

² The identification suggested is quite possible, but what about the name of the ruler given in the Allahabad Pillar inscription? Till that could be identified with a contemporary Vākīpaka or a known feudatory of his, the identification suggested will remain open to question.

³ Proceedings and transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, *Asiatic History*, p. cxxix.

⁴ *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. xii, p. 571. and Gupta Inscriptions, p. 286.

by Dr. Bühler. Another record in practically identical terms was discovered near Gajja² in the Ajajgarh State in Bundelkhand. The writing is distinct and we are enabled to correct minor inaccuracies in Dr. Fleet's transcript. Dr. Sukthankar who has edited the record observes:— 'We do not possess exact dates for any of the kings of this (Vikshaka) family, nor can we form any clear idea of the extent of the country ruled over by them.'³ But the Riddhapur plates of Prabhavati-gupta now enable us to point out definitely a portion anyhow included in their territory. The Chauramak plates too came from the same taluka. Vajrapura mentioned in them corresponds to Vajraghon, Kishikikshaka to Kishid, Kinokhoda or Kinagion, Kollapur to Kollpur and Karajia to Kharaji.⁴ The dates too can be approximately ascertained as it is proved that Prabhavati-gupta was the daughter of Divyagupta, who was soon after Chandra-gupta II. Dr. Sukthankar assigned the Gajja inscription to the seventh century A.D. In the light of recent discoveries, however, referred to above, the date must be corrected.⁴

Dr. Aiyangar on p. 83 of his article on 'The Vikshakas and their place in the History of India' refers to the Pushyamitra among the enemies of the Gupta emperors (in particular of Skandagupta), who made common cause with the Vikshakas to overthrow the power of the latter. Prof. H. R. Dvārkar, a student of the late Dr. Arthur Venis of Benares, has shown in the *Sarasvati* in Hindi that Dr. Fleet's reading 'Pushyamitra' is clearly wrong. The actual reading of the text is 'Yudhyamitra' 'yudhi-amitra', meaning enemies in a battle. I had the pleasure of listening at Benares to Dr. Venis's arguments in favour of his student's suggestion. This happened shortly after the images bearing the Gupta inscriptions had been unearthed. If Dr. Aiyangar has based his arguments regarding the 'Pushyamitra' on the Puranic references, the point should have been emphasised and authorities quoted.

On p. 81, vol. v, part 1, of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Dr. Aiyangar has arrived at certain conclusions on the assumption that the Mathurā pillar inscription is of Chandra-gupta I. In his

² *Op. Ind.*, vol. xvi, pp. 13-14.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See Sachidanand Saraswati's *History of Bihar*, p. 46.

⁵ See a note on Vyāghra in the *Indian Antiquary* for Dec. 1904, 1904.

opinion 'the wars between the Kshatrapas and the Guptas began almost with the emperor and the Bihlitas across the seven mouths of the Sindhu could be regarded as the Śakas and the Parthians of that region. This may account for the revival of the power of the Śakas after A.D. 340 which the assumption of the title Mahābhadrakṛpa would seem to bear witness to. The Mehrauli pillar is certainly in the Gupta characters but it does not necessarily follow that it must be of a Chandra-gupta, much less of Chandra-gupta I. I would like to invite the Doctor's attention to Mahāmahāpādhyaya Haraprasad Shastri's article on the Mandasor inscription of Naravarman. He remarks — 'The Mehrauli pillar inscription mentions a king named Chandra, who had conquered the Vāhikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus and the Yagras. Nowhere in a Gupta inscription do we find any mention of any conquest of the Panjab or of Afghanistan by Chandra-gupta II or any other successor of Samudra-gupta. The Susea inscription supplies us with a king named Chandra with the family title Varmanas, who belonged to Pushkarana in Western India but had dedicated a wheel of Vishnu close to the Yagras country. The Mehrauli pillar itself is the very *śāraṇa*, another name of Vahya, the dedication of which is recorded in the inscription itself, and it also speaks of a conquest of Bengal. The natural conclusion is to state that Chandra of the Mehrauli pillar inscription and Chandra-varman son of Bihavarman of Susea inscription are one and the same person. In the former record the family name was omitted in order to satisfy the needs of the metre.'* If the Mahāmahāpādhyaya's identification is correct, Dr. Aiyangar's arguments are untenable.

Prabhavati-guṇī lived to a good old age. In the Riddhagiri plates the expression *agrasarāśa-dvā-patrapa(sa)śas* occurs, which as I have already pointed out, should not be understood too literally. But there can be little doubt that the queen saw some real grandsons and that she was regretful for her sons. The names of her sons occurring in the grants are these :—Divākarasēna, Pravarsasēna and Dāmodarasēna. Divākarasēna is assumed by Dr. Aiyangar on page 6 of his article 'The Vākātakas in Gupta History' as the princely name of Pravarsasēna II. But on the same page he observes :—'This obviously refers to Pravarsasēna II, who in this grant (a short notice of which I

* *As. An.*, vol. xii, pp. 325-326.

* Note was taken of this; but the matter is too long for discussion here. (*AN*)

published)¹ is given the name Dāmodarasēna-Pravarasēna which means that his princely name was Dāmodarasēna while he assumed the title Pravarasēna when he ascended the throne. Prabhāvatī-guṇḍī had two sons, Divākarasēna and Dāmodarasēna and she was the regent for the first and in all probability for the second as well. On page 42 of his article on "The Vīṣṇukas and their place in the History of India" he says "Divākarasēna is probably an elder brother of Pravarasēna II." On page 5 of his former article Pravarasēna II is made the son or at any rate the successor of Divākarasēna, while on pages 32 and 35 of his latter Dāmodarasēna is given as the name of Pravarasēna II. How can all these statements be reconciled? I have in my article in the *J.A.S.B.* rather left the question open. I may be allowed to reassert my statements:—It (the present inscription) notes the fact that Prabhāvatī-guṇḍī was the mother of Dāmodarasēna Pravarasēna, (*Dāmodarasēna-Pravarasēna-janmāt*). The question arises whether Divākarasēna was the same person as Dāmodarasēna. In Dr. Vincent A. Smith's opinion "Divākarasēna may possibly have succeeded (Rudrasēna II) under the title of Pravarasēna (II), but it is more likely that he died young and that Pravarasēna was his brother." (*J.R.A.S.*, 1934, pages 327-328). He may either have been dead by this time so that the queen avoided his remembrance and omitted his unhappy name from permanent records after he departed from this world or he may be the same person as Dāmodarasēna. The possibility that she had three sons, viz. Divākarasēna, Dāmodarasēna and Pravarasēna in the name of all of whom she ruled is not altogether precluded.² Dr. Alyanagar should reconsider the question of his identifications in the light of Dr. Smith's remarks and the assertions made above.³

The Doctor has tried to show that Chandragupta's influence dominated in the reign of Rudrasēna II, the regency of Prabhāvatī-guṇḍī and a considerable part of the reign of Pravarasēna II on the strength of the Prākṛit Kāvya, Śāntabandha which had been begun by Pravarasēna and which received a critical revision at the hands of

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 18, p. 46, *J.R.A.S.*, for January 1934 and the *Vīṣṇukas in Gupta History*, p. 8.

² Vol. xx, M.B., p. 28.

³ With the greatest pleasure. I had no knowledge of the *Śāntabandha* when the first identification was suggested. (*Id.*)

Kaśīdāsa at the instance of Vāṇasāditya (Chandragupta II). This can perhaps be better inferred from the wedding of the queen in her own grants, which evoked in the skies the glories of the Guptas, the maternal ancestors while the only facts noted about the Vākātakas are that she was wedded to Kuchavēna (II) of the family and was the mother of her sons (by him) so to use the very expressions 'she was the chief queen of Kuchavēna II, and the mother of Damodaravēna-Pravaravēna.'

In the foot-note on page 91 of his article on 'The Vākātakas and their place in the History of India,' Dr. Aiyangar says, — 'It is just possible to assume that Kuchavēna II did not rule.' But his very next sentence contradicts this assertion. It runs — 'But this assumption will be in direct opposition to the explicit statement of these records that Prabhavālī was the crowned queen of Kuchavēna II.' We have to rely on the statements in these historical documents and we are justified in drawing conclusions only as their statement. It is beyond the shadow of a doubt that Kuchavēna II did rule. The omission of his name from the record as queen must be accounted for on a different ground.

On page 91 of his article on 'The Vākātakas in Gupta History,' the Doctor remarks, — 'The fact that the home territory of the Vākātakas was intimately associated with Bhājyakaṭa, the city built in the vicinity of the Paundrap capital Kuppīnapura by Kṛishṇa's brother-in-law Rukmi goes only to confirm the identification that the Vākātakas were Bhājyas, Vīkṛitās and even Kṛāṭhakaśālikas or well.' Rao Bahadur V. M. Kale has been fortunate to identify the localities definitely and thus has placed scholars under a new obligation. He has shown that the village of Kuppīnapura, inhabited by 400 to 500 persons marks the site of the ancient capital of the same name, the ruins extending to Umroṭi.¹ Bhājyakaṭa can be identified with Bhātakṛāṭi, 8 miles from Umroṭi.² Bhāṇḍak near Chaudhivāṭi is also believed by some to have been the capital of the Vākātakas.

Dr. Aiyangar remarks, — 'Harishena's is the last reign of which we have any knowledge, and the reign which is peculiarly the dominion of the Vākātakas passes into the hands of the new dynasty of the Chāṭikya. The Vākātakas thus provide us it were a bridge that fills

¹ *History of Barar*, pp. 447 and 448.

² *Ibid.*

the gap between the Andhras and the Chālukyas in the history of the Deccan.¹ These statements will have to be considerably modified in view of the references to the Nalas in the records of Kirtivarmaṇ of the Chālukya dynasty² and especially on the strength of a more substantial discovery of a copperplate grant in the possession of the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Saśhodhakāṇ-Ṣaṇḍalā of Poona,³ which is being edited in the *Ala. Ind.* by me. It was found along with the one of Prabhavati-guḍḍī. It is engraved in the same box-headed characters. They are not much removed in date from those employed in the earlier grant of the queen. The grantor is Bhavattavarman of the Nala race whose banner was distinguished by 'Tripaiśikā.' It was issued from Kāśmabagiri apparently Kalambe in the Yotmal taluka, Berar. It is evident, therefore, on *prima facie* grounds, that the Nalas exercised authority over the territory which was under the sway of the Vākṣakas, long before the Chālukyas were masters of the situation. The Nalas apparently appropriated a part of the Vākṣaka dominions. It is clear then that the Nalas too played a part in the drama. To study critically the later history of the two dynasties, the Guptas and the Vākṣakas and to clear up some of the obscurities which still surround the whole problem, we must know more about the Nalas, who rose on the horizon and with whom the Guptas and the Vākṣakas or at any rate the latter must have come into contact.

¹ 'The Vākṣakas in *Critical History*,' p. 22.

² *Plate the Dynasties of the Konkan Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 2 and the *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 40.

³ *Plate* pp. 115-116 of the Quarterly of the *Maṇḍal*.

Napoleonic Wars in the East

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A study of the Great European War (1914-1918) naturally produces a desire to find a parallel incident in History with as varied interest and as far-reaching results as the late war furnished. Even to a casual reader, one such parallel may be obtained in the great French Revolution and the consequent cataclysm which involved the whole civilized world of the day. Making allowance for the long space of time intervening between the two great episodes of human history as also for the rapid progress, constructive as well as destructive, that human skill and power of imagination have brought to bear upon the present day civilization, the Revolutionary era produced results as complex and as difficult of solution as the late war. It seems that the social eruption of 1789 had more justification in its origin than the whirlpool of 1914 ushered in by national greed for territorial and colonial expansion, commercial and maritime rivalry, and military despotism. But the later developments of the Revolution of 1789 were as much destructive of peace and order, life and property, and productive of as much international chaos. Both the episodes called forth the utmost sacrifice, patriotism and determination of the several combatant parties engaged against one another. It is well known that in the Napoleonic Wars, England alone remained undefeated and unconquered, and in the end overthrew the grasping despotism of Napoleon. The heroism and sacrifice that England manifested on the occasion, the great national debt she incurred for keeping her head aloft more than 125 years ago, will ever remain bright in the pages of History and will not be dimmed by the brilliant achievements of 1914-18 effected in the full bloom of civilization and prosperity. The difficulty arising from the imperfect nature of communication in those days, though common to all parties, was more felt by the English people who had already established living interests in the different parts of the globe. Nor were those whom the call of Empire building

kept at a distance from the principal scenes of operation less mindful of the supreme need of their country, and they did their bit by preserving their country's interest at distant places under conditions more trying than they are to-day.

The part that India has played in the late war, the actual number of combatants that she furnished for the different theatres of the war, the equipment in gold and ammunition that she sent to help England, evoked praise and recognition even from the severest critics of India. But the almost unaided, yet successful, effort that the few servants of the East India Company and their Indian Sepoys made to maintain the British interest in India and in the East amid circumstances of unparalleled difficulties and complexities though but feebly recognised by History at this distance of time, is yet a feat the weight of which a grateful English posterity ought always to admit. During the years 1814-18 India spoke with one voice and 'hid herself white'. The energy of the Native States and of the Indian people together with their resources flowed into one channel and made for the achievement of one common object. To it may be compared the situation in 1798. Though Indian gold was undoubtedly a common factor a century and a quarter back as well, and though the loyalty and even the eager moral and material support of some section of the Indian people could always be counted upon, the British power in the country was as much threatened by a dreaded French invasion as it was by the hostile interests of the Native States of the country. The British power was yet to be established as the paramount authority in the country and it was indeed at the time in the throes of a perilous crisis, political and economical. In the south the sanity of Tipu Sultan was open and avowed. The power of the Nizam was hopelessly weak and a considerable body of French troops first under M. Raymond and later on under M. Percey had established French influence at the Court of Hyderabad. This body numbering 14,000 people seem to have concentrated under its control all the different French interests in the country for the benefit of France. Thus writes Lord Wellesley to the Rt. Hon^{ble} John Dundas on the matter:—'The corps of Raymond in the Nizam's State consist of 14,000 men and though discipline is not of a very high order the numerical strength of this body is imposing.'

* This letter of the Earl of Mordaunt to the Right Hon^{ble} Henry Dundas, dated February 22, 1798—*Wellesley Dispatches*, vol. I, pp. 432-3.

The chief officers are French men of the most virulent and notorious principles of Jacobinism, and the whole corps constitutes an armed French party of great zeal, diligence and activity. No positive proof has yet appeared of a direct correspondence of this corps with the French Government, but it seems to be unquestionably certain that they communicate with Tipu Sultan and with the French troops in his service. The dangers to be apprehended from the existence of this corps are not to be estimated by a consideration of its actual state of discipline or even of its actual number, or degree of its present influence over the councils of the Nizam. I consider it as the basis of a French party in India, on which according to the opportunities of fortune and variation of events, the activity of the society may found a strength of the most formidable kind either in peace or war. If the war is to continue in Europe without extending to the continent of India in the first instance, the danger of French intrigues acting with such instrument as I have described would be greatly aggravated. But if the war should extend to the continent of India and if we should be under the necessity of calling forth the strength of our allies to assist us in any contest with Tipu, what assistance could we expect from the Nizam the main body of whose army would be officered by French men or by agents of France? However despicable the corps of Raymond may now be in point of discipline or effect in the field, would it be wise to leave such a large body of men in readiness to receive whatever improvement the ability, assiduity and zeal of French officers sent from Europe for that express purpose, might produce into the constitution of the corps so prepared by correspondent principles and objects to meet the most sanguine expectations of their new leaders? Under these circumstances, the corps which perhaps has now little efficiency other than that of a political party might soon become in the hands of our enemy as efficient a military force as it is now in that view wholly useless either to the Nizam or to us. Thus the weakness of the good-natured Nizam and want of organisation in his State made him an ally not only useless but for the time being a source of anxiety.

Equally perplexing was the state of affairs at Poona. The power of the Peshwa was reduced to a most deplorable condition owing to intrigues of all kinds being rampant at his Court. The Peshwa was smarting under the domination of Daulat Rao Scindia. The

Marhatta affairs slowly drifted into that condition which ultimately brought about the second Marhatta War and which taxed the company's resources simultaneously with the Napoleonic wars. There was also present a body of French soldiery at Poona apart from a considerable force under the Scindhia who had been pursuing an independent and ambitious course of policy in Central India. In the Court of the Scindhia the French had more than influence, they had a real power. Indeed this systematic introduction of French officers into the services of all native powers has been described by Mr. Wislizenus as the fixed policy of France, adopted with the view of establishing the most certain means for subverting the foundation of English power in India. Though the attitude of the Scindhia was shrouded in uncertainty, the company's Government could not count upon his support, rather his enmity might be expected. Anyhow he was to be humoured and flattered, for on him depended some hope of withstanding the other great difficulty of the English at the time viz. the invasion of Northern India especially of Oudh by Zeman Shah¹ and his eventual co-operation with Tipu. For the moment this difficulty seemed impending, and if the support of the Scindhia could not be obtained, the English could only be on the defensive in the north for danger in the south was more pressing. It was thus the G. G. instructed Sir J. H. Craig the English officer stationed in Central India—'The progress of the French arms in Egypt, our actual situation with Tipu and the doubtful posture of affairs at Poona must contract the means of our reinforcing the army under your command. We must therefore be satisfied in the event of Zeman Shah's approach, with a system of operations strictly defensive. I have, however, no reason to doubt, that your army will very soon be augmented to the number of nearly 20,000.'² Again Lord Wellesley writes in his dispatch, 'The reports of Zeman Shah's progress which hitherto have been vague and contradictory, have now become more uniform and consistent. Zeman Shah is now advanced to Lahore and appears determined to prosecute his design of proceeding at least as far as Delhi.'

¹ Zeman Shah—King of Cabul, son of Timur Shah. He was the governor of Sindh during the lifetime of his father. Later on he together with Akbar Mahmud made a stand to stem the progress of the British forces in Central Asia.

² *Wellesley Dispatches*, vol. I, under date October 27, 1798, p. 312.

Nor did the complexities of the situation and there. The possession of the adjacent islands like Ceylon, Java, etc., by foreign powers pointed to the necessity of keeping a strict watch on them, and their occupation by the English may be considered as purely defensive steps for the preservation of the Company's interests in India. It is for this reason that the Governor-General puts the following in his minute:— 'I am persuaded that the possession of Ceylon either in the hands of France or of her blood slave Holland would enable the French interests to rise in India, within a very short period, to a degree of formidable strength never before possessed by them. The possession of Ceylon is universally held to be indispensable to the preservation of our power on the continent and of our commerce on the seas of India.' The Governor-General also dwells at length on the value of the Cape of Good Hope 'as an English possession, as a frontier English depot against any foreign power.' Its value, writes Wellesley, 'as a naval outpost is still more important: its possession by the enemy would furnish him with means of pouring in troops upon the coast of Coromandel or Malabar. An enemy's squadron stationed at the Cape could not fail to interrupt the greater part of our trade to and from the East without being under the necessity of making any very distant cruises. The army stationed at the Cape might always be looked upon as a part of the Indian force. The Indian trade and the Empire would be jeopardised with the Cape in possession of the enemy unless England would have another corresponding station on the southern continent of Africa. Moreover Ceylon without the Cape could not be long maintained in the English hand.' Equally great was the anxiety of the Company about the weak hold of the Portuguese on Goa which might furnish a foothold to an intending French army of invasion.²

It was, however, the strained relation with Tipu which required immediate solution. The Prince's conduct may appear justifiable from a view-point of his own notion of independence, but it could not but produce misgivings in the minds of the British Empire-builders in India, and they could not consider Tipu's movements in various

² Letter of the Marquess of Wellesley to the Right Hon'ble Henry Dundas, *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. I, pp. 22 and 23.

² Minutes and correspondence of the Marquess of Wellesley, Edited by R. R. Pearson. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 1.

directions as anything different from French ambition in the country. James Mill regards the story of the growth of Tipu's power since the treaty of Seringapatam (1762) as an exaggeration and a myth.¹ He argues by saying that between 1762 and 1768 the English power in the country had grown beyond any doubt and that Tipu's negotiations with the French, if at all, and the ultimate results thereof were matters too insignificant to engage the serious attention of the Company's statesmen, and moreover the difficulties they had overcome in 1761 they would do, if necessary, with greater success in 1768. The force of these arguments lie very much in their humanitarian and charitable principles, but Empire-building depends more upon a cautious and far-sighted policy than on an enlightened policy of forbearance and toleration. The need of the time could not possibly make the English charitable.

Again Tipu had entered into an alliance with the English and hence his open overture to the French, though attended with little success, was an overt act of hostility. The landing of his emissaries in the Isle of France and the subsequent foolish proclamation of the Governor-General Maudslowi to the citizens of the Isle of France leave no doubt in the matter. Mill refuses to believe in the authenticity of the proclamation, for all interests pointed to the necessity of Tipu's negotiations with the French being kept strictly confidential. But it must not be forgotten that the French were determined to injure the English at any cost, and the parade of such a proclamation meant that the French intended to place before the world at large that they had secured the sympathy and co-operation of a great native power of India. Personal of a part of the proclamation very much clears the situation. "Having for several years," thus runs the proclamation, "known your zeal and your attachment to the glory of the Republic, we are very anxious, and we feel it a duty to make you acquainted with all the propositions which have been made to us by Tipu Sultan through his ambassador whom he has despatched to us. This prince has written particular letters to the Colonial Assembly, to all the generals employed under the Government and has addressed us a packet for the Executive

¹ Mill, *History of British India*, vol. vi, p. 84.

² Proclamation of General Maudslowi, translated from original French, *Description of the Marquess of Gough's*, vol. i, Introduction, no. 3 and 4.

Directory in France. He desires to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the French and proposes to maintain at his charge as long as the war shall last in India, the troops which may be sent to him. In a word he only wants the moment when the French shall come to his assistance to declare war against the English whom he ardently desires to expel from India.' Some time after Tipu's power had been overthrown, the Governor of Bombay, the Hon'ble Mr Jonathan Duncan, received a letter dated November 12, 1799, from Mr Alexander Davidson to the following effect: 'I have the honour agreeably to my instructions from the Captain of His Majesty's ship the *Essex* to inform you of my arrival here in charge of the French Republicain Corvette *Le Surprenu*, prior to the *Essex*. This corvette was proceeding from the Isle of France to Europe with General De Bro and two Mohammedan Ambassadors from the late Tipu Sultan to the French Republic. There is no reason to believe that there was and perhaps still may be previous to a considerable amount in charge of these Ambassadors for the French Directory.'

The Governor of Bombay wrote, to His Excellency, the Governor-General that the names of the Ambassadors were El Behidul and Abdu Rahim, and that they had with them the following presents according to their own declaration for the Directory: 5 Sarpachas, 5 Joughas, 5 Necklaces and 5 Rings, but they said that they had destroyed them. On November 16, 1799, the Bombay Council passed the following: 'The anklets and Nuzars to the Directory and their wives and the Khelats were delivered up by Tipu's Ambassadors on Thursday the fourteenth instant and they landed on the same day.'

The above places beyond doubt Tipu's active propaganda for obtaining French co-operation and assistance, and though the help he derived from the Mauritius falsified all his calculations, he could not forego till the last the hope of considerable help from France. He received from the Isle of France a contingent of barely 150 men, the very scum of the population of the place, Negroes, savans, old jail-birds, etc., who on their arrival at Seringapatam planted the tree of liberty there adorned by a tri-colour flag and fraternised with Tipu as ethnic Tipu. Even the Wellesley despatch makes a very poor

* Extract of a letter from Lt. Alexander Davidson, Vice-master of the Corvette in the Hon'ble Jonathan Duncan Esq.—Excerpts from *Official Gazette*, vol. II, pp. 40 and 41.

estimate of the contingent thus raised.¹ 'The Ambassadors aided and assisted in a levy of 100 officers and 30 privates for the service of Tipu. Few of the officers are of any experience or skill and the privates are the refuse of the lowest class of the democratic rabble of the Island.' Whatever the strength of the force might have been, Tipu Sultan's overt act of hostility, according to the known law of nations, remains unquestioned. Moreover the fact of his having sent Ambassadors to the Porte, to Cabul, to Persia, Egypt and France for enlisting support in every possible direction to oust the English from India was never seriously challenged.

The Company's interest in India became still more precarious owing to dramatic and almost electric developments in Egypt. A letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors despatched on June 12, 1798, to the Governor-General in Council apprised the latter of the sailing of the French armament from Toulon.² 'Although the ultimate object of this armament,' reads a part of the letter, 'has not been ascertained, it is not improbable, from many circumstances that have transpired, and from the spirit of the daring adventure by which the French have been actuated during the present war, that its destination may be for India either by way of Red Sea or by Suez, Egypt being taken possession of on the way. His Majesty's Government have therefore ordered immediate reinforcements to be sent to East India and His Majesty's fleet, in case the French be not defeated in the Mediterranean, has been ordered to the Straits of Babelmandeb to intercept the French.' The letter also refers to Tipu's negotiations with the Governor of the Isle of France and warns the Company's servants to take note that the publication of the proclamation might have been a feint on the part of the French with a view to embroil the Company with Tipu. 'For,' proceeds the letter, 'our Empire in the East has ever been the object of jealousy to the French and the present French Government is likely to make an attempt of reducing our power in the Indian world. Such a venture without the assistance of one or other of the Indian powers seems almost impossible. Therefore Tipu appears to be the fittest instrument to be employed in the

¹ *Wallpaper Dispatches*, vol. I, p. 81.

² Extract of a letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council in Bengal, dated June 12 1798, received in Bengal in September 1798, *Dispatches*, vol. I, pp. 68 and 69.

furtherance of such ambitious projects. It would, therefore, be neither prudent nor polite to wait for actual hostilities on his part. We, therefore, recommended if steps have not already been taken, to adopt the necessary measures to bring Tipu to a satisfactory explanation. If his compliance with the said proclamation be considered conclusive, to take the most immediate and decisive measures to carry arms into the enemy's country. If it shall appear necessary military organisations amongst our civil servants and others in this country may be prepared to act on any emergency.* Whether India was the direct and immediate object of this enterprise it is difficult to conclude. Napoleon himself is almost silent on it. He cared for great names which, as a lie, could only be made in the East. Egypt itself was a position of great strategic importance. The country, as Napoleon always held, was the real point of correspondence between Europe and India—the place where France ought to establish herself to run England.† From Thomson's eye M. Thiers‡ 'could command of the Mediterranean be envisaged which was to be made into a French lake. Once established in Egypt, Napoleon would have in his power to do two things: either create a navy in the Red Sea and proceed to destroy the settlements of the English in the Great Indian Peninsula or make Egypt a colony and a magazine.' In any case the Indian trade could not fail soon to transfer itself to Egypt and desert the Cape of Good Hope. All the caravans of Syria, Arabia and Africa already crossed each other at Cairo, thus whether Egypt were made a point of departure for the purpose of attacking the English settlements or whether it were made a mere magazine, it was certain to bring an enormous trade into its true channels and to make those channels lead to France.' It was this bright picture which fascinated the imagination of the Directory. Borel in his *History of the French Revolution* lays special emphasis on the commercial aspect of the enterprise and on the fact how it would create a diversion which would decay the English fleet from the European waters for the defence of their Eastern possessions.‡ England would thus be left more or less defenceless to fall an easy prey into the French hands. The following is the order of the Directory in the matter: 'The army of the East shall take possession of Egypt. The Commander-in-Chief shall chase

* M. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution*, p. 778.

† Borel, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, part v, p. 262.

the English from all their possessions in the East which he could easily reach. He shall have the Isthmus of Suez cut through, and he shall take all the steps necessary to ensure the free and exclusive possession of the Red Sea to the French Republic.¹

The Governor-General himself did not put much faith on the immediate approach of the French by way of Egypt. He writes on August 29, 1798 to Rear-Admiral Baines, "I wish to call your particular attention to the preparations the French were making in the Mediterranean for fitting out a considerable naval force for the embarkation of troops. Various accounts are given of its destination; the strange report of its being destined for the conquest of Egypt, and after the success of that wild adventure, for the more extravagant project of conveying aid by Suez to Tipu Sultan; and this is not likely of producing much impression upon a person of your Excellency's experience. But some of my letters state an opinion to which I am much inclined to give credit, that at least a part of this force is probably destined for an expedition to India by the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope. A variety of circumstances combine to render it probable that the French army may attempt to send a force for the joint objects of reducing the Mauritius and of aiding Tipu Sultan. With these sentiments I take the liberty of requesting your Excellency to direct your most serious attention to the coast of Malabar and as soon as you shall deem it expedient to detach any part of your squadron to that quarter." The *Calcutta Gazette*, dated August 23, laid before the public a translated extract from the *Journal de l'Assemblée* relating to the extraordinary project of the French proceeding to India through Egypt.² The Gazette commented on it in the following words:—

"It may be scarcely necessary to say that we place no faith in the account, or that we may give it the same credit that we allowed to the ruffs a mile long, yet upon so singular an enterprise it is satisfactory to collect all the information that has appeared. A further article on the subject from *Courier Du Bas Rhin* of April 14, the

¹ Proceedings of the Directory quoted by H. Tiers.

² The *Mail of Merchants* to His Excellency Sir Admiral Baines, Fort William, December 12, 1798. *Wellesley Dispatches*, vol. i, p. 228.

³ *Calcutta Gazette*, Editorial - Correspondence Relating to the *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. II, pp. 202 and 203.

latest continental Gazette that reached India reads as follows: 'It is only in the absolute ruin of its absolute power that we can crush this imperish rival; as long as Britain shall dispense the treasures of Bengal what foreign power can be insensible to the seducing influence of wealth? What means is there to prevent the empire of Orissa purchasing the perils of Lanka, and subsidizing their hungry battalions? It is by uniting our efforts in concert and striking at the very root of the source of their riches. Europe and Asia must rebound in the same blow, India must be subjugated by crowding the waves of the Red Sea and our conquest in the East must extinguish the hope of our enemy of repairing in that quarter the wreck of its throne in Europe.'

Like the German press during the late war which grieved scores of English soldiers in India to discredit the English in the country and to rouse discontent, if possible, among the Indians themselves, the French also during the Napoleonic wars did not hesitate to describe at length the misfortune of India under British rule. There is unmistakable proof of the fact that the French in their designs in India had built some of their hope on the great aid which they might have expected from British subjects. It was with this expressed object that General De Caen with a military staff was sent to Pondicherry. In this connection an extract from the proceedings of the Council of Five Hundred may be read here with interest. 'In oppressed India not a step can be taken without discovering the train of English graft. In that fair country favoured of heaven, but desolated by man, the English gave a few years ago a dreadful example how far despotism may go when joined with insensibility and avarice. Debasement of courage for the furtherance of the English trade was only one of the indirect blows which killed the native enterprise of the time. . . A short time afterwards, Bengal was visited by a horrible drought. Rice grew only in some parts and then in a small quantity; of this the English took possession, they monopolised with avidity whatever provision was to be found and held it in reserve for themselves and their troops. Thus secured they declined to attend to a numerous people who were threatened with the approach of famine. It came accompanied by despair, and followed by the most fearful of deaths. For many days the Indians, consumed by hunger, but still meek and suppliant, were seen, wandering like plaintive ghosts around these fortresses where

their tyrants revelled in abundance. A vast silence soon reigned throughout, and public ways and places were covered with dead bodies, and the rivers rolled them by thousands to the astonished seas. Three millions of men perished; and their wretched remains, abandoned without interest, so corrupted the atmosphere as to create a pestilence which had nearly destroyed the unfortunate nation.'—(Extract from the writings of the Abbe Raynal) With the above may also be read an extract from the *Berlin Telegraph* which described the Earl of Moira as being descended from the House of Plantagenet, and that he, having had blood of royalty in his veins, would assert independence in India and commence a new line of English kings. Lavish praises are bestowed on him and 'the lofty merits, his possessions,' concludes the letter, 'entitle him to independence and royalty.'

Thus it will be seen that the company's attention was not only directed towards the preservation of their trade and power in the country, but mainly towards the growing power of Tipu, the French intrigue in the country and the menacing nature of the French enterprise in Egypt. However visionary the Egyptian expedition might have been regarded in this country at the outset, its real significance could not have long remained unseen. Not only in Europe but in India as well vast preparations were being set on foot to baffie the enemy. The energy and the efforts of the company were taxed to their utmost limit to meet the magnitude of the danger. The French contingent in the Nizam State must be disbanded and made absolutely harmless. The Governor-General's tactics in completely disarming them without any bloodshed and bringing the entire military organisation of the Nizam State under the Company's supervision has been recognised by historians as statesmanship of a very high order. Complete and elaborate arrangements were to be effected to take the offensive against Tipu who is said to have received at this time a letter from Napoleon written from Cairo. The letter reads thus:—'You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea with an invincible and irresistible army full of the desire of releasing and relieving you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mocha, as to your

¹ Charles Gassier, Editorial comments, *Telegrams from the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. II, pp. 328 and 329.

political situation. I could wish you would send some intelligent person to Stuz or Cairo possessing your confidence with whom I may confer. May the Almighty increase your power and destroy your enemies,' etc.—*Sal. Bonaparte*

Tipsu was no longer to be allowed to go unpunished for his intrigues with the French. The difficulties which had thickened round Lord Cornwallis in 1791 demanded for some time the special attention of the Governor-General. We need not enter here into a study of the last Mysore War which called forth on both sides generalship, sacrifice and patriotism of a very high order. The company was not to remain content with the reduction of the power of Tipsu alone, it must exert itself to render every possible relief to the Home Government and make all preparation for the eventuality of a French invasion of India. The *Coke's Gazette* dated November 21, 1798, noticed the general approbation of the Governor-General on the raising of volunteer corps from amongst the European, Portuguese and Armenian residents of Calcutta. It was so honorable to the character of the settlement and so conformable to that spirit which secured the British Empire in Europe against the combined efforts of all its enemies. The Rt. Hon^{ble} Henry Dundas had sent instructions to the Governor-General for the working out of such organisations in India.¹ 'If it be true,' thus wrote the President of the Secret Committee, 'that a successful invasion of England would prove fatal to us, it is still more peculiarly true to His Majesty's subjects settled in India. A successful attack upon our possessions in India and the overthrow of the British interests there would be a death's wound to every prospect which the Company can entertain. Why then are not they, so far as is consistent with their avocations and duties, learning to devote some leisure hours in each week, in order to learn the use of arms and to form themselves into corps, under the authority of the Government, for the purpose of your adding to your European strength in India and preparing themselves, in case of the last extremity to sacrifice their lives in defence of those interests upon which everything essential in life must depend? This is an advantage which, in the day of difficulty, no other nation but ourselves have the means of resorting to.'

Thus 125 years back volunteer corps and defence of the realm forces were raised in the same way as during the eventful years of 1814-1818. An expeditionary force was as well sent to Egypt to co-operate with the Turkish and English interests in that country against the French.¹ News reached this country from London to the following effect: 'The Turks were infinitely surprised at the appearance of the Sepoys in Egypt, more particularly when they saw them lay aside their shoes and enter their Mosques, in performance of the same religion. When they found an army of the Muhammedans descending the Nile they thought their Prophet was working a miracle in their favour.' The *Bombay Courier*, May 1, 1802, makes mention of the return of the officers who had left to join the army in Egypt. It remarks that their reception by the Arabs in general and the chief in particular was in the highest degree hospitable and the latter professed himself warmly and sincerely attached to the English character. In the same way the *Calcutta Gazette* reports the arrival in the Hugly of a commerce transport, having on board a detachment of the Bengal Artillery lately serving in Egypt. His Excellency the Governor-General entertained at breakfast General Baki and the officers of the army returned from Egypt. It is thus significant that the spirit which fired the imagination of the Canadian, the Australian and the South African in the late war was also present among the servants of the company more than a century back, although the expedition to Egypt may be regarded as only a defensive measure. The part that the Indians played in the drama must not also be lost sight of, for apart from the question of a few serving in the army, their general loyalty and solicitude for British success much facilitated the Company's work at the crisis.

The voluntary subscriptions that the European residents of the country raised to help their mother country speak again of the same healthy spirit. A public meeting of the British residents in Calcutta was held on July 12, 1798, under the Chairmanship of the Sheriff

¹ The Egyptian Expedition went under Major-General Baird. It contained altogether 8700 Europeans and 6127 Indians. Of the Indians Bengal contributed 1000 Artillery and Volunteers 2500 men, Madras nearly 300 and Bombay 1700 besides Engineers, Pioneer Corps and public and private followers—*Sketches of India*, Edited by R. H. Perts, p. 22 and Appendix No. 1, pp. 645 and 646.

and passed two resolutions, viz. ' We shall be at all times ready with our lives and fortunes to support His Majesty's Government against all his enemies and further to assure His Majesty of our utter abhorrence of those principles which the tyrannical rulers of France have so fatally laboured to introduce in their own unhappy country. Further resolved that books be opened for the purpose of receiving subscriptions of all such persons as shall be desirous of entering into voluntary contributions for the support of His Majesty's Government in Europe and that the amount thereof be remitted to Europe ' A total sum of £130,785 was raised from Calcutta alone. The principal contributors were Sir R. Chambers, Mr J Huro, Mr W A. Brooke, Sir J. Craig, Major G R Smart, each subscribed £1,000, Sir Charles Cockrell, Mr. S. Speke, Mr. W. Cowper, Mr Stephen Bayard, £1,000 each annually during the war Corps of Engineers, £1,250 annually, Lt-General Sir A. Clark and the Governor-General £7,000 and £3,000 respectively annually during the war Subscriptions of £500 and upwards were very numerous from Indians as well as Europeans. The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay exhibited a similar spirit of noble and patriotic feeling It is worthy of note that even the poorly paid soldiery stationed in India contributed their quota. Thus His Majesty's Seventy-sixth Regiment stationed at Dnaper donated one month's pay * non-commissioned officers and privates two weeks' pay : the officers of the Twenty-seventh Regiment of Dragoons stationed at Cawnpur offered one month's pay the Seventy-fourth Regiment at Wallajahbad voted one month's pay for the defence of Great Britain. It is highly interesting to note that the leading Indian citizens of Calcutta headed by Gour Churn Mullick, Hemoy Churn Mullick, Ram Kissen Mullick, Gopy Mahon Tagore, Kaly Churn Halder, Runk Lal Datta, Gokul Churn Datta and others convened a meeting in imitation of the English citizens of Calcutta and resolved. ' As we take a sincere interest in whatever concerns the prosperity of the British Empire, and as we can in no other manner show our attachment to that nation under whose protection we live than by contributing and to the public service, that books of subscription be opened to receive the voluntary contributions of the native inhabitants of Calcutta, and that the sum subscribed be applied in the same manner and under the same

* *Selections from Calcutta Gazette*, vol. 31, pp. 180-182 also p. 24.

restrictions as the subscription of the Europeans are appropriated.¹ The Governor-General was pleased to write Home that the plan for the raising of subscription from Indian gentlemen originated in their own spontaneous solicitude for the safety of the British Empire and was not suggested by any interference of the Company's servants.

All possible measures for maintaining the internal security of the Company's possession in India were duly undertaken. Though there was no 'Defence of the Realm Act' all precautions were adopted to segregate and intern enemy subjects and suspected aliens. A police notification of the time may here be read with interest: 'All Frenchmen and other natives of countries at war with Great Britain or in alliance with France and now residing in Calcutta or its vicinity, who have not already reported, are hereby directed to attend in person and deliver in their names, etc., at the Police office without delay. Persons entertaining foreigners of this description in their service are required to report the same and to give notice when such persons quit or are dismissed from their service. No Frenchmen or other natives of countries at war with Great Britain or in alliance with France and now residing in the town, will be allowed on no account to leave or to pass the Walls of Calcutta without the permission of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council for which application is to be made through the Magistrates at the Police office. All Frenchmen and other foreigners of the above description coming from any of the foreign settlements in Calcutta are required to produce at this office a written permission of their being absent from such settlement; and are hereby informed that, in the event of their entering the town without such permission, they will be immediately taken to custody.'

The defeat and death of Tipu, the subsequent occupation of Mysore by the British troops, the Battle of the Nile and the subsequent dissolution of Napoleon's power in the East relieved the Company of much of its anxiety, and as well reduced the pressure upon her trade and on her resources in men and money. With the storming of Seringapatam a garrison order, Fort St. George, dated June 3, 1799, informed the public of the reception of the standard of

¹ Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. 11, p. 289. 'A sum one lakh and fifty thousand rupees was raised.

² Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. 11, p. 5. Police Notification, May 10, 1800. (Ed.) John Miller, First Clerk.

Tips Sultan on May 4, 1794.¹ The colours of the French Republic were also taken on the same day from the French corps in the service of that prince. A breath of relief pervaded all throughout the Company's possessions in the East on the destruction of the dangerous power of Tipu. 'The glorious victory of the Nile,' however, produced a greater sense of security. It seemed as if a horrible nightmare which was choking the very breath of the English in the East was gone. In just gratitude the Company's servants in Bengal subscribed a sum of £1,074-10-0 to the fund raised for the benefit of the sufferers in Lord Nelson's victory. At a court of the Directors held on Wednesday, April 24, 1798, the following was unanimously passed, 'Resolved that the thanks of the court be given to Rt. Hon'ble Rear Admiral Lord Nelson for the very great important services he has rendered to the East India Company by the ever memorable victory obtained over the French fleet, near the mouth of the Nile on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd August, 1798. Further resolved that in testimony of the high sense this court entertains of the very great and important benefit arising to the East India Company from his Lordship's magnanimous conduct on that glorious occasion, that this court request his Lordship's acceptance of a sum of £10,000.' Lord Nelson's reply to the above flattered the just vanity of the Directors: 'I was this day honoured with your letter of May 3rd conveying to me the resolutions of the Hon'ble East India Company. It is true, Sir, that I am incapable of finding words to convey my feeling for the unprecedented honour done me by the Company. Having in my younger days served in the East Indies, I am no stranger to the munificence of the Hon'ble Company, but this generous act of theirs to me so much surpasses all calculation of gratitude, that I have only the power of saying that I receive it with all respect. Give me leave, Sir, to thank you for your elegant and flattering letter, and that I am with the greatest respect your most obliged and obedient servant, (Ed.) Nelson,' addressed to Sir Stephen Lushington, B.A., Chairman of the Court of Directors. The Directors further entertained Lord Nelson at the London Tavern in a great banquet on the occasion of his victory. In return for the toast proposed, Lord Nelson referred

¹ Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. II, p. 227.

² Nelson's Letter.—Preserved in *facsimile* in the *Relics* of the Hon'ble East India Company by William Griggs, p. 22.

among other things to the death of an inveterate foe and the establishment of peace in India and the consequent frustration of the object of the arch enemy, the French. In India, a proclamation was issued by the Governor-General fixing February 6, 1800, as a date of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the happy deliverance of His Majesty's dominions in Europe from the destructive designs of the enemy . . . as well as for the prosperous issue of the late 'just and necessary war' in Mysore.

Henceforth the Company entered into a period of comparative peace and security. Their undivided attention could now be devoted to the cause of their trade and to the taking up of those offensive measures in the important strategic stations in the Indian Ocean so that they might not be turned into profitable bases of operation by the French. In 1797 expeditions were planned to be sent to Ceylon, Malacca, the French settlement of the Mauritius and the Spanish possessions of Manila.¹ Though the latter undertakings had to be given up for the time being, the first expedition ended in the eventual occupation of Ceylon. It is a mistake to think that the French were so pre-occupied in the continent of Europe that they had neither time nor enough resources to turn their serious attention to the East, and that the British interest in general and the Company's trade in particular went on unhampered after the destruction of Tipu's power and the collapse of the French fleet in the battle of the Nile. A casual notice may here be taken of the enormous losses on the Eastern seas sustained by the English at the hands of the French naval power stationed in Asiatic waters. A *Cochin Gazette* extraordinary dated October 27, 1798, announced that the undermentioned persons were made prisoners of war by the French and that they had been exchanged: Robert Ferguson, officer of the *Madagascar* taken off the Isle of France, Benjamin Brown, Commander of the *Grasshopper* taken off Batavia, J. H. Lawrence, Commander of the *Brisk* taken off Batavia: Robert Sadler, officer, the *Princess of Wales*. The captivity of the officers also signified the loss of a good percentage of the ships they served. The *Madras Gazette*, September 13, 1800, notified the capture of the Company's ship *Arcturion* by the French privateer *Charles* off Madagascar. An extract from the minutes of the Bombay

¹ *Memirs of Walpole, R. E. Peters*, vol. II, p. 111

Council, December 20, 1803, reads as follows: 'The Governor in Council sincerely regrets the loss of so valuable an officer as Captain Hall who fell in the late action of the Cruiser *Indra* with an enemy's privateer in the Gulf of Parma' On October 19, 1800, news were received in Calcutta of the capture of the Honourable Company's ship *Kiad* by *La Confiance*, French privateer. In March 1802 the ship *Highland Chief* was captured by the French *Brig Sébastien*. Late in 1803 the Company's freighted ship *Atlas* was captured by two French frigates in the Bay of Bengal. The *Dougal Haikara*, December 3, 1804, notified the capture of the ship by the French privateer *Caroline*. On January 31, 1805, Captain Barboor late of the *Pygmy*, writes to say that his ship was taken off Vihagapatam by the French frigate *La Psyche*. On February 7, 1805, Captain Waters notified the capture of his ship by *La Psyche*. Six days after the *Psyche* captured the *Thetis*. On December 12, 1805, the Calcutta Council made an estimate of the losses in shipping sustained within a short period of a little above a week preceeding that date as amounting to eleven lacs of rupees. The principal ships of merchandise lost were the *Melville*, the *Waldgrave*, the *Cornwall* and the *Plumie*, and the Council remarked that the total loss to the mercantile community was of a very serious nature. On July 3, 1808, the Company's ship *Ceylon*, *Windham* and *Atalia* maintained an unequal and losing fight with a superior enemy force and effected a clever escape. The *Calcutta Gazette* dated October 18, 1810, announced a decisive naval engagement in the harbour of Port South East, Mauritius. The enemy's frigates *Belleuse*, *Affreux*, *Victor*, *Venus*, *La Manche* and *La Autre* were engaged by His Majesty's ships *Sirius*, *Epigania*, *Nereide* and *Magicienne*. The *Sirius* and *Magicienne* being much bound were ordered to be destroyed. The *Nereide* was left a perfect wreck and later on taken possession of by the French. It was an unqualified English defeat. On July 9, 1814, news reached Calcutta through the *Dolphin* arriving from Penang of the capture by the French of the ships *Berisy*, *Mary* and of the *Brig Favourite*, all from Bengal. Even to an indifferent reader this partial list would give an idea of the enormous shipping losses sustained in the Eastern waters, as also of the great insecurity prevailing all around.

It must not, however, be concluded from the above list that the

Company and the English were alone the sufferers on land and sea. The French undoubtedly suffered heavier losses. Their possessions in India, Pondicherry and Chandernagore were early captured and the French inhabitants of the places taken as prisoners of war. Reference has already been made to the capture of the French Republican Corvette *Le Saisir* which intended to despatch Tipu's ambassadors to France. On April 2, 1800, the public curiosity in Calcutta was gratified by the appearance in the Hughli of the long-expected *La Forte*, prize to His Majesty's ship *Sybil*. A Fort William notification dated November 26, 1800, announced the capture of the French privateer *L'Adèle* by His Majesty's Brig *Albatross*. On December 4, 1800, His Majesty's ship defeated and captured the French ship *Melanite* which had previously captured two English vessels the *Afrimond* and the *Rebecca*. With the renewal of the War of the Third Coalition and almost contemporaneously with the battle of Trafalgar, notification of the capture of the French ships *L'Argente* and *L'Hirondelle* in the Eastern Sea was served. The *Calcutta Gazette*, January 8 and February 14, 1804, notified the capture of the French Privateer *L'Espergle* off Cooch's and of the Privateers *Le Pave*, *Unit* and *De Cass* in the Bay of Bengal. The *Bombay Courier* extraordinary, dated November 11, 1804, announced the remarkable achievement of His Majesty's ship *Cassiope* which made a simultaneous capture of *La Fortune* and *La Mame*. A proceeding of the Directors of the East India Company dated August 16, 1805, expressed gratitude and voted liberal rewards to the members of His Majesty's ships, stationed in the Chinese Sea for beating off the French squadron under Admiral Le Nole in that sea. A message from the Cape of Good Hope dated January 28, 1806, signed Major-General D. Baird, announced the conquest of the Cape by the joint effort of an expeditionary force from India and the British naval squadron in the Indian Ocean.

The *Calcutta Gazette*, Thursday, 1808, notified that in consequence of intelligence having been received by the Company's Government of a rupture between Great Britain and Denmark, a detachment of troops from the garrison of Fort William under Lt.-Col. Carey took possession of the Danish settlement of Benares at six o'clock, January 28. The Danish ships in the river Hughli were also on the same day taken possession of. A letter

dated Amboyna, March 6, 1810, conveyed the intelligence of the surrender of Amboyna with a garrison of 1500 Javanese and several guns to a detachment of the Madras artillery and European regiment in conjunction with 300 seamen and marines from His Majesty's ships. On August 26, 1810, His Majesty's forces aided by a regiment sent by Lord Minto commenced a brilliant and successful operation in Java. The enemy's camp was easily stormed and captured by the irresistible gallantry of the British forces. The whole of Java submitted to the English. An order in Council dated January 1811 reads as follows: 'The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council has the satisfaction to announce to the public the intelligence of the surrender of the Isle of France to the arms of His Majesty and the Company on December 3, 1810. Ordered that a royal salute be immediately fired from the ramparts of the Fort William.'

The next place to fall in order of time into the hands of the English was the island of Bourbon. On August 23, 1810, the *Caledon Advertiser* had the following in its issue of that date: 'It is with much satisfaction that we are enabled to gratify the curiosity of our readers with many interesting particulars of the operation terminating in the surrender of Bourbon to the British arms. . . . At the end a flag of truce was sent by the enemy from St. Denis to treat for the surrender of the island.' Officers, mostly from Calcutta, were then appointed for the Government of the island. A *Bombay Gazette* extraordinary, 1811, reports of a naval action off the coast of Mauritius in which the English ships *Asiatic*, *Phoenix*, *Galatée* and the *Brig Rose Horse* engaged the French *Roussin*, the *Narval* and the *Chelonia*. The latter were won with considerable losses and the British scored a great victory. Again, here, it will be seen what a considerable strength the French commanded in the Eastern seas, what strategic maritime stations they came to possess in their eventful career and what tremendous exertions His Majesty's forces and the Company had to resort to in thoroughly subduing them and in making them absolutely powerless.

In the midst of these constant engagements and pre-occupations, the English in the East did not lose sight of the 'joyful side of human nature and neglect the ordinary and formal amenities of life especially those connected with war. The Truce of Ashlesp was a matter of universal rejoicing throughout India and Ceylon. It was

also the occasion of a most splendid entertainment given to about 800 ladies and gentlemen at the New Government House, Calcutta.¹ Several distinguished Indian gentlemen were also present as guests. The ramparts of the Fort William, the shipping in the river and all the principal buildings facing the Esplanade were brilliantly illuminated. An extensive illumination was exhibited in the environs of the New Government House whereas the mallen was all resplendent with a magnificent show of fire-works. On February 3, 1803, the Governor-General in Council was pleased to order the firing of a Royal Salute from the ramparts of the Fort William and *de jeûs* at sunset by the troops in garrison in honour of the great victories of the allies in Spain. On July 30, 1814, a Royal Salute and three volleys of musketry were ordered in honour of the splendid success of the allies. A public thanks giving was arranged for April 12, 1815, in honour of the great victory and for the peace so necessary for the good of mankind.² In the Government House a most magnificent entertainment was given to about 700 ladies and gentlemen in honour of the general peace. The most attractive illumination and display of fireworks on the occasion were exhibited at the mansion house of His Highness—Nawab Dalwajung at Chitpore. Peace and contentment soon prevailed all around and in the midst of the general prosperity and uniform success that marked the progress of the English in the East, henceforth, the losses sustained in the great undertaking against Napoleon were forgotten. At the same time a just feeling of pride surged in the bosom of those who had so eagerly responded to the call of patriotism and sacrifice. The brunt of the whole affair undoubtedly fell on the East India Company, and the paper may be closed here with a quotation from H. P. Robinson (*The Trade of the East India Company from 1769-1815*) whose thorough appreciation of the Company's work for the British Empire deserves mention.³ 'Throughout the century there are repeated offers of men and ships fully equipped at the Company's expense. Not content with fighting unaided its country's battles in India, the Company wished to have a share in the victories which England

¹ A lively description of the celebration is preserved in the manuscript of *Wakeney*, R. A. Farrow, vol. II, pp. 271-282.

² Submitted from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. IV, p. 204.

³ Robinson, *The trade of the East India Company*, p. 147.

secured in all parts of the world. If ever British troops landed in India to fight the battle not of the Company but of the nation, the Company always paid and supported them from the time of debarkation. The Company voluntarily provided 10,000 tons of shipping to the Government for six months in 1801 and considered that its interests were so closely connected with the growth of British influence that it presented Lord Nelson with a large sum of money as an expression of gratitude for the victory of the Nile. The bitter attacks with which its actions are frequently assailed, the accusations of corruption and of selfish motive, lose much of their force when it is remembered how great a proportion of England's triumph in the eighteenth century should be attributed to the self-denying patriotism of this mighty corporation.'

Reviews

THE KAUVERI, THE MAUKHARIS, AND THE ŚĀNGAM AGE

BY

T. G. ARAVANUTHAN

[Published by the University of Madras, 1955.]

Students of South Indian History are aware that the question of the age of the Tamil Śāngam has been for some years engaging the attention of scholars and that though no final solution could be said to have been reached, dates ranging from second to eighth century A.C., have been proposed by them from several standpoints. Mr. T. G. Aravanathan's main object in the above monograph is to approach this problem from a new point of view, namely, the invasions of North India by South Indian monarchs. He takes his stand primarily on Karikalan's and Śenguttuvan's invasions of the trans-Gangathi regions detailed in *Śilappadikāram* and enquires when they would have been possible. He thinks that these incursions could not have taken place during the heyday of North Indian supremacy such as the age of the Great Mauryas (A.C. 285 to 230) or during the time of Pushyamitra Sunga (A.C. 184-165) or again of the Imperial Guptas in the fourth and fifth centuries A.C., and so eliminates them. He concludes after a cursory review of North Indian History that the invasions would have been possible only in one of the three weak periods of Northern India. (1) A.C. 208-184 during the time of the successors of Ashoka, (2) A.C. 148 to A.C. 1, i.e., after the death of Pushyamitra, and (3) the third century A.C.

In the first place, the dates above suggested are themselves spread over so many centuries that we can hardly consider them very 'helpful in a search for the valid solution of the Śāngam Age'; secondly, though he has proposed these dates, as he has not investigated them in detail, he writes in several places as though he himself does not seriously believe in them. Regarding the first period, A.C. 208 to 184, he says, 'The history of the period is so unsettled that we do not know if the invasions were possible.' (p. 36). As regards the second

period, c. c 148 to a. c. 1, he says, 'A dynasty so powerful as this one (the Śātavāhanas) was, would not easily have consented to allow a Tamil king to go north on a mission of conquest' (p. 50). At the third century A. C., he himself admits that 'it is so obscure that no valid conclusions can be drawn' (p. 57), and 'to place the Śāngam here is simply to thrust an inconvenient problem out of the way without finding a solution for it' (p. 83).

The fault is that though the author started with a new and fruitful line of enquiry he has simply played with it instead of pursuing it in right earnest. The real attempt must have been to investigate all these periods in detail from the standpoint of the political condition of Northern India and examine the history of the Āndhras or Śālavāhanas in their relation to northern and southern powers as well. But instead of doing this he runs after the Will O' the Wisp of a Maurya.

In one of the courses of the *Kaṭṭagaṭṭapperaṇ* relating to Karikṣṭian a certain Mukhari is said to have been punished with the loss of an eye when he did not follow the example of other feudatories in personally working at the embankment of the Kaveri. Mr. T. G. Aravamudan says that 'No king of the name of Mukhari being known to have ruled in South India, we are forced to cast our eyes farther afield who that Mukhari could have been' (p. 4). He therefore identifies this Mukhari with an imaginary North Indian Maṅkhari king of Magadha during this period. But on page 72, he himself draws our attention to the existence, on the banks of the River Poomi Neelī, of a chief of Mukhari (*Kapakkadāḍṭṭṭam*) and a certain Mukhari-*ṇṇṇ* mentioned in a Tamil inscription of Ceylon. It is thus more natural and appropriate to take it that the Mukhari referred to in the *Kaṭṭagaṭṭapperaṇ* to be a southerner—preferably a dweller on the banks of the Poomi or the Kaveri. After all, as he says, the identification of Mukhari with Maṅkhari 'is not an integral part of the age of the Saṅgam' and it is therefore all the more surprising that he should have dealt with the question at such inordinate length. Much more irrelevant, however interesting, is his excursion into the early "history of the Kaveri.

On the whole, there is a large amount of clever writing, curious learning and ingenious reasoning which however cannot compensate for the fundamentally weak investigation of the central theme.

A. V. V.

HISTORY OF BURMA

BY

G. R. HARVEY

[From the earliest times to March 10, 1884, the beginning of the English Conquest
LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.]

ALL those who have worked at the history of Burma would easily realise the great difficulty in bringing out a scientific history of this country. There are many dark spaces to be filled which involves the patient ransacking, not only of a great deal of Burmese material but also the thorough examination of large numbers of Chinese, Portuguese and Dutch records as well as several English state papers and documents. It is, therefore, hardly an exaggeration to state that Mr. Harvey's book on Burma is a great achievement.

Hitherto the chief authority on Burmese History based on original sources has been the work of Sir Arthur Phayre published nearly half a century ago which was accurate and to a considerable degree impartial. The chief defects of this work are that it is based on much more scanty material and that it is uncritical. Again Phayre's work is not up to date and a great deal of material not available to him such as those of inscriptions and Chinese sources, have been brought to light in recent times thanks to the labours of the Archaeological Survey. Mr. Scott in his 'Burma from the Earliest Times to the Present Day' has attempted a popular account of Burmese history from the earliest times. This cannot compare with Mr. Harvey's work being more or less a light work. Harvey's book is that of a mature scholar endowed with much industry and necessary sympathy for the Burmese people. The long notes in the appendices show wide research and the text itself is thoroughly referenced and documented.

In a little more than three hundred pages, Mr. Harvey has attempted the difficult task of writing the history of Burma tracing it from its beginning through the dynasty of the temple builders (1044-1287), the Hanthawaddy, the Tawnggyi dynasty and the Alaungmya dynasty. It has been usually supposed that there is very little of historical material in Burma itself. Mr. Harvey's book, however, shows that the native material is fairly abundant. The inscriptions, although sparse between the fifth and the tenth centuries, are available for the following

period. The Glass Palace Chronicle, for instance, which has been largely drawn upon by Mr. Harvey provides delightful reading and shows what remarkable capacity the Burmese have for making their historical records readable. As Sir R. C. Temple has observed in the detailed preface to this book, the capacity of the Burmese 'for relating a story well is remarkable and makes their historical records enticing reading.'

It is perhaps unnecessary to enter into the details of the work. It is true that some portions of the work such as the account of Arakan and the Shan States is rather meagre. The discovery of fresh Epigraphical records such as those noticed in the latest report of Burmese Archaeology may lead to the writing of a larger account of this part of the book. As Mr. Harvey himself says perhaps some better equipped writer will tell this story and portray the life of which only glimpses are obtainable now.

The get up of the book is excellent and the illustrations add considerably to the value of the work. In addition to the genealogical tables of the dynasties (pp 36-67) a very comprehensive bibliography is furnished which should be of immense use to all interested in the study of the subject.

R. G.

A HISTORY OF INDIA, PART II—THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

BY

H. L. O. GARRETT AND HITARAM KOHLI.

[*A History of India*, Part III, L. F. Rushbrook WILKINSON, Messrs Longmans, Green & Co., Price Rs. 8.]

It would be remembered that this series was projected more than twelve years ago with the object of setting out the main outlines of Indian History in a manner suited to the requirements of the students of the Intermediate Examination. The first part comprising the history of the Pre-Muhammadan period was written by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar as early as 1914 and for some reasons which are unknown, the subsequent parts had been locked up until their publication early this year by Messrs. Garrett & Kohli and Rushbrook

Williams respectively. During this interval several attempts have been made to bring out short accounts of the whole period so as to meet the requirements of the College Students, the most important of these being the work of the late Mr. Smith entitled *College History of India*. Another attempt was made by Mr. H. H. Havell to cover the same ground in his *A Short History of India*.

The writers of the second part Messrs. Garret and Kelli follow the plan of Mr. Smith, and have carried the period from the rise of the Muslim power to its downfall in 1761 when even the semblance of Moghal control terminated. They divide the subject into four books of rather unequal length which deal respectively with the period of Muhammedan invasions. The Sultanate at Delhi, the Bahmani kingdom, the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar and the Moghal Empire. The subject is treated in a masterly manner and the results of the latest researches of scholars are incorporated. The references to the authorities are given at the foot-notes and include the results of recent research. The only defect of this portion seems to be the inadequate space given to treatment of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar and its significance in South Indian culture. A prominent conclusion among the authorities of this period is to Dr. B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Source of Vijayanagar History*. The chronological chart and the illustrations are thoroughly good and inviting. The only error that we have detected in the work so far, occurs on page 316 (line 18).

In Part III, Prof. Rashbrook Williams, till recently Director of Information to the Government of India, continues the narrative of the British period in three books entitled respectively (1) Sea-Power, (2) British Supremacy in India, (3) The Growth of Modern India. Prof. Rashbrook Williams writes in a fascinating style and presents the subject matter in an orderly manner with profuse quotations from contemporary records. The subject is treated with considerable sympathy and insight which are not usually to be met with in ordinary text-books. The final book which narrates the Growth of Modern India and especially the concluding chapter entitled, 'India in the Twentieth Century' are particularly interesting. Another feature of this work is that the authorities are given at the end of each chapter instead of at the end of the work as in the case of Part I. One of these authorities is, viz. Mrs. Bennett's Book, *How India Fought for Freedom* against an *How India Fought for Freedom*?. The portion on nation

builders (p. 301) should have been more elaborately treated. In other respects, the get up of the book and the illustrations are very good. The work is eminently suitable for use in the college classes and the general public. In the light of recent researches, however, we may suggest the first part of the series by K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar has to be rewritten incorporating the latest views and discoveries such as those for example of the Punjab and Hind valley.

R. G

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION TO THE DAWN OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

BY

B. K. THAKORE, I.R.S. (RETIRED)

[Revised edition, 1931—Bombay, D. B. Thaparewalla Sons & Co.—322—
pp. xiv, 494 and xviii.]

THIS revised edition of Professor Thakore's book is welcome, since it gives an account of the working of Dyrarchy in what is called its first phase. The second *transformation* of Dyrarchy has also something to its credit, according to our author, if it should have really taught the country once and for all, 'the futility of ideological intransigency' and shown that not root-and-branch non-co-operation but responsive co-operation is the right policy to pursue in working the Reforms. The Middlesex Reforms Inquiry Committee has very fully illustrated the features of the Dyrarchical system so far as it had then gone. Of course we cannot agree that there has been a complete failure, both of the Central and Provincial Legislatures in organising themselves into stable political parties, certainly there has been some work done even by our parties. The Central Legislature is still a subordinate partner along with the irresponsible executive; while in the provinces 'the ministers are more like Government officials and administrators and not yet tribunes of the people.'

Mr. Thakore treats of special problems, like the Native States, communalism which has put forth two very ugly manifestations, communal riots and communal greed for jobs, and the Indianisation of the Army which will be the prime requisite of a self-governing

India. As regards the final shape that the developed Indian Constitution may take, whether the type will be unitary or federal, he would deprecate the dissipated tendencies growing and diminishing the strength of the central institutions, and likewise would he be for the retention of the larger Native States as separate governments under hereditary constitutional monarchy, in perpetual subordinate alliance with British India, rather than they should be included in a federal system. In this edition each chapter is enriched with a bibliography and fairly elaborate notes, though the use of smaller type has not been an untried advantage.

C. S. B.

STUDIES IN THE LAND REVENUE HISTORY OF BENGAL, 1763-1783

BY

R. B. RAMSOTHMAN, I.C.S.

[The Oxford University Press, 1933. pp. v and 362.]

THE period 1763-1773 marked in the matter of revenue collection by the substitution of an untrained and foreign (English) agency for a skilled, though corrupt, native agency, was followed by an attempt at centralisation in a Controlling Committee of Revenue at Calcutta with six Provincial Councils and a body of native *amils*; but the result proved financially to be no better, the fault being not so much with the administrative machinery as with the method and degree of mismanagement. Mr Ascoli calls the next epoch 1781-1783 one of completion of centralisation, when the Committee of Revenue was placed in full control and Collectors, though reviewed, were denied any interference. The reforms of 1783 laid the foundations on which the Permanent Settlement came to rest subsequently.

Mr Ramsbotham has embedded in this book the *Amil Report* and the *Report of the Kamengra*, both being documents of first-class importance for the revenue history of the period. The *Amil Report* was made in 1778 to Warren Hastings and was 'the first tabular

and professional explanation of the system employed in collecting the land revenue of Bengal, that was placed before the Company.' It classifies and explains the various branches of the public revenue, analyses the different kinds of landholders and the different forms of land revenue as well as the various hereditary and temporary agencies for the collection work. It further goes into the details of the accounts of district administration and pleads for 'expert and continual supervision by responsible officers of the revenue collections.'

The other report on the Kanungos submitted in 1789 by Mr. J. D. Paterson, Registrar of the Kanungo's office is here published for the first time along with a previous shorter report on the same subject made by the same officer, six years previously. In the explanatory note on the Kanungo, Mr. Ramsbotham traces with great clarity the office and its growth and shows how the officer, by the time that the company became Diwan, held in his hand all the vital information necessary for the efficient collection of land revenue. After the conclusion of the Perpetual Settlement, the office both *Sadr* and *Madani* was abolished, to save the actual expense, though it was still considered necessary to continue it in *Buzars* and the Upper Provinces where, in 1803, elaborate regulations were prescribed for their appointment and service.

The author to whom Mr. Ascoli was indebted for many valuable suggestions in the arrangement of his book *Early Revenue History of Bengal and the Fifth Report (1917)*, is a high authority on the administrative and revenue history of Bengal during the eighteenth century. The two reports that he has now edited are valuable links in the chain of the complex revenue history of Bengal, culminating in the Permanent Settlement; and he has enriched his work with a great quantity of information culled from the voluminous records of the various Committees of Revenue that worked between 1773 and 1788 preserved in the Bengal Record office. We wish it very much that the learned author should bring out a companion book publishing the valuable records bearing on the famous Grant-Shore and Shore—Cornwallis controversies, thus illuminating the complex revenue history of the next stage.

'REPORT OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF
H. B. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.'

BY

MR. YARDANI

A.D. 1821-24 (1331-33 P.)

Calcutta, 1826

THE Report presented by Mr. Yardani, who during this period was partly away in Europe on a deputation to study the diverse phases of Moslem architecture in Islamic countries, points out the marked influence of Turkish engineers in the growth of a vigorous style of military architecture in the Deccan from about the latter half of the fourteenth century, and the consequent similarity that the Deccan fortresses bear in their arrangement to mediæval European fortresses. Three forts—Bijandol, Qandhar and Paranda—were surveyed; and an extensive programme of conservation was carried out, the most important measures being, as usual, the protection of the Ajanta Frescoes carried out under the direction of Prof. L. Ceccani and Count Prinkai; and it is assumed that deterioration in the frescoes has been stopped for at least a century to come. The tombs of Aurangzeb and Malik Ambar in the Aurangabad district, have also been cared for, while in the Warangal District, the thousand-pillared Mandapa at Hanamkonda has been preserved. Two monographs in epigraphy have been published, which will be noticed in due course, one, a Congress record of Bodhas, and the other an inscription of the Kakatiya Queen Rudramba. The coin-cabinet of the department has been enriched, especially with some *Andas* issues of the later Yadava kings of Devagiri. The appendix contains an account of the Paranda Fort with the inscriptions in it, and also a note by Mr. T. Srinivas on the coins in the cabinet of the Hyderabad Museum. The illustrations of views from the Ajanta Frescoes and the Paranda Fort and the coins acquired are, as usual, good.

C. B. S.

‘A CONSTRUCTIVE SURVEY OF UPANISHADIC
PHILOSOPHY’

BY

R. D. RAMADE

[*Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophy*, vol. II]

THIS is the first fruit of a projected *Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophy* in sixteen volumes, and is by Professor R. D. Ramade of Poona. Professor Ramade has issued a pamphlet descriptive of the project containing information regarding the scope of the work and the names of contributors to the different volumes and sections. Of the sixteen volumes the last is, of course, the index, and the three preceding ones are intended to contain sources of information for the other volumes. The work actually would comprise twelve volumes. It is a great project and all the available Indian talent is enlisted for the accomplishment of this great work. It is intended to begin from the beginnings of Indian philosophy in the early Vedic period, and brings it through all the gamut of the scale down to the most modern developments. The project deserves the sympathy of all who can assist in one way or another, so that the scheme may reach its completion without a hitch. Each volume would be on an average of about 700 to 800 pages, and will, as far as may be, self-contained both in respect of the division of the subject and of treatment. This vast project is one of a variety of enterprises in this branch undertaken by the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, constituted as an All-India body for the purpose of promoting the study of philosophy and religion. This would include publications both in Indian and European thought. There is to be a research branch attached to it for doing the necessary preliminary work with a number of branches all over the country with members, fellows and all the paraphernalia of a learned organisation with substance of finance for carrying the objects into effect. Ambitious as the project may seem, it is quite capable of fulfilment if there should be the co-operation that is possible. If all the resources of India could be called into requisition for the purpose effectively, it would be comparatively easy to accomplish the task and realise all the other ambitions of an academy of this character. We wish the enterprise all success. Mr. Ramade's work, *A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy*, is the first fruit of this project, and we publish the following review of the work by a sympathetic and well-informed friend of ours with pleasure.

EDITOR.

1. We congratulate the Indian People and the author of the book under review on the publication of this excellent volume. Several eminent scholars have worked at the *Upanishads* for a long time and Max Müller's translation of the *Upanishads* in the Sacred Books of the East Series and his introductions to several other works mark an epoch. But there have not been many books on the Philosophy of the *Upanishads*, taking them as a whole and adopting the historical method, except perhaps Paul Deussen's brilliant treatise. Many of the books on the *Upanishads* Philosophy by Western scholars have not dealt with the subject from a sympathetic point of view—the point of true Mystic Realisation. The author is already well known as a Sanskrit scholar in the department of philosophy and the treatise under review is worthy of his eminence and scholarship. He has brought to bear upon the subject his vast knowledge, the historical method of comparative religion and the evolution of spiritual ideas and methods of realisation. He claims, we think rightly, that the blissful static mystic self-realisation taught in the *Upanishads* is amply justified by truths of modern science and modern historical research in comparative religion and philosophy. He approaches the subject from a universal and not from any sectarian or narrow point of view without at the same time losing sight of the interpretations of the main texts adopted by the orthodox in India. English educated classes, if religiously inclined, will find the book most useful and illuminating. Whether we agree with the ultimate final views of the author on mystic realisation or not, it should be stated that the subject is handled in a most impartial way.

2. The author has prominently brought out the view that all the three great Schools of Vedānta find ample justification for their being based on the *Upanishads*, and he has collated all the important Sacred Texts relied upon by the three great founders and given both the originals and their translations in Chapter IV (Roots of Later Philosophy). This is a very great step in the right direction and the chapter is most valuable.

3. It has been thought in some quarters that the *Upanishads* have not brought out clearly the moral and ethical Ideal. We hope with the author that hereafter the charge would not be sustainable. Readers may refer to Chapter VI. He has demonstrated that the *Bhagavad Gita*, itself based clearly on the *Kaṭa*, *Mundaka* and *Svetāśvatara*

Upanishads, brings out the spiritual activism and the theistic mysticism as the ultimate goal which is so much talked of by Western thinkers. The *Itinerary Upanishad* has laid the basis for disinterested performance of work without attachment to worldly selfish fruits, and that such disinterested work, as worship of God, leads to God-realisation.

4. Readers of Galloway on religious experience and the Gifford Lectures volumes by Ward, Pringle, Pattison and the treatises of Boussuquet, Royce, Bradley, MacTaggart and Bergson are well aware that the ultimate in religious experience is a controversial matter, and we need not be surprised if the absolute monists, qualified monists and dualists are not agreed as to the nature of the ultimate final realisation in Hindu religion. When it is once established that the *Upanishads* themselves give the common basis of true religious experience, the quotations given in the last chapter on the evanescent eternal infinite, blissful mystic realisation, preceded by moral and ethical grandeur, fully justify the different interpretations. They will amply repay perusal.

5. We would simply give a few examples here :—

(i) Brahman which is the light of all lights, which the seekers after *Atman* experience ;

(ii) After having crossed the band of Phenomenal Experience, even though a man may be blind, he ceases to be blind . . . night becomes day . . . the spiritual world is suddenly and once for all illumined.

(iii) There is neither sunset nor sunrise.

(iv) The *Atman* cannot be realised except by one whom the *Atma* chooses ; before such a one the *Atma* reveals his proper form.

(v) Just as a mirror which is cleared of its impurities becomes lustrous and capable of reflecting a lustrous image, even thus the mystic sees Himself at the height of his spiritual experience and reach the goal.

(vi) Great and lustrous is that inextinguishable being, yet He is subtler than the subtle, farther than the farthest and yet quite near to us, being shut up in the cave of our heart.

(vii) The knots of the heart are broken, all his doubts are solved and the effects of his actions annihilated when once he has seen God who is higher than the highest.

(viii) When the individual self is embraced by the Universal Self he knows nothing outside nor anything inside. He has attained an end

which involves the fulfilment of all other ends, being verily the attainment of *Atma* which leaves no other end to be fulfilled.

(ix) The Brahman was before Him, beheld Him, to His right and left, above and below.

(x) It was verily the All.

(xi) Brahman is truth, knowledge, infinite bliss and infinity.

(xii) 'Infinity alone is bliss—when one sees, hears, understands nothing else, that is the infinite. The infinite is above, below, behind, before, to the right, to the left,—I am above, below—The Self is above—He who knows this truly attains this.'

(xiii) He enjoys Brahman and His auspicious attributes. He attains equality with Brahman. He attains and becomes Brahman. He sings. I am (His) food. I am the enjoyer (of Him) I see the Brahman as all.

2. The author has most lucidly explained the several methods adopted in the *Upanishads* for expounding philosophic religious truths and mystic realisation under several headings with copious illustrations.

(i) *The enigmatis method.*—(a) Pointing to a synthesis of opposites underlying the apparent contradictions, adopting a cryptic method, using a single (*Tajjaleśa*) word explaining that God is the origin, end and life of all.

(b) God is knowledge and non-knowledge, and so on.

(ii) *Aphoristic method.* Compressing all the materials of thought in short sentences (Ex.) *OM* is all that exists.

(iii) *Etymological method.* (Ex.) *Purusha* is really *Purusha* that is inhabiting the citadel of heart.

(iv) *Allythical.* Parables are introduced to teach a moral, or philosophic or religious truth.

(v) *Analogical.* (Ex.) The analogy of drum of the life, in order to explain the process of apprehension of the soul.

(vi) *Dialectic.* (Ex.) Disputations in Janaka's Court with Yagyayalkya.

(vii) *Synthetic.* (Ex.) In *Chandogya*, six philosophers giving six explanations all afterwards uniting in *Yadhamasa Vidyā*.

(viii) *Monology.* (Ex.) Some sages lose, in selfthought, regarding spiritual realisation. (Ex.) The *Ananyasat Brahman*. The *śāraṅga* *śaṅkara*—Immanence of the Eternal All-seeing God.

(ix) '*Ad hoc*' or *Imparting*, i.e. the teacher gives only what the pupil needs for the moment.

(x) *Regressive*. Successive questions being put. Every new question carrying in behind the answer to the previous question. It is also shown that sometimes the teaching is given in the spirit of poetry and poetical outbursts.

7. Regarding the theory of *Atma*, the author has stated everything impartially and nothing more is desired. He has most clearly brought out the germs of the *Atma* theory in the *Upnishads*, and has stated, 'Let no man stand up and say that we do not find the traces of the Doctrine *Atma* in the *Upnishads*,' though we may be permitted to say that when once it is admitted that the word *Atma* is used in many of the *Upnishads* in the sense of power, wonderful power, and in the sense of *Prakriti* or matter, and further that it is not clear whether *Atma* is said to inhere in the Supreme or individual soul, the theory of *Atma* developed by the later absolute monistic school is altogether different from the one found in the *Upnishads*.

One feature of the book is that the author has not dealt with the interpretations adopted by the *Vedanta Sutra* on many of the texts and subjects of the *Upnishads*. Even granting that the *Sutra* perhaps teach a system different from the *Upnishads*, it would have been better if a chapter had been written on the subject as, after all, that would be the interpretation adopted by orthodox Hindus taking into consideration the theistic mysticism and work without attachment taught by the *Gita*.

8. The author seems to hold views directly contrary to the Hindu orthodox on the *Atma Sutra*, and we would be content with the remark that Sir John Woodroffe seems to be much more sympathetic and that his attitude is probably more correct from a religious point of view.

10. We may close this review with the observations of Prof. L. R. Farnell in his latest volume of *Gifford Lectures* on the 'Attributes of God' which is probably the best of all the books covering the same ground. With reference to the predominant school of Hindu thought, monistic Idealism, according to which 'a permanent unchanging God could have no relation to the movement and activity of life, for according to its narrower view permanence is excluded from activity. But the Greek mind believed the deeper theory, that

the power which caused change and movement might itself remain unchanged and unmoved and therefore such a power might be interpreted as a divine creator and the source of life activity.' May we insert instead of the words '*Great mind*' the words '*the Upanishads*' as interpreted chiefly by the theistic mysticism of the Gûs and the *Padartha Sûtras*. The book supplies a decided want and it is the best book on the philosophy of *Upanishads* that has so far appeared. We hope that a cheap edition will be printed to place it well within the reach of the college students and the English educated community as also students of Hindu religion and comparative systems of thought.

S. G.

'HISTORY AND HISTORICAL PROBLEMS'

BY

ERNEST SCOTT

Professor of History in the University of Melbourne

[Oxford University Press]

THIS work is based upon a course of lectures delivered by the author to the teachers of history in Melbourne with a view to creating an 'interest in the method and processes of history, as well as in the matter of which it is composed.' The work falls into ten chapters, of which two have reference to the purpose of History and Historical Method; the next five chapters have to do with the relation of history with other subjects, such as Geography, Biography, Physical Science, Education and Patriotism. There is one chapter devoted to varieties of History, another to Historical Problems, and the last to, what is entitled, the *Living Force of History*. Each one of these subjects is handled with ability and presented in a way to interest even an audience of laymen. It is full of instruction to students of history and must be stimulative of thought to those engaged in the work of history itself. The author starts with an attempt at defining the purpose of history, and gives the definition in general terms that history is (1) 'the sum of human experience classified by criticism,' and (2) 'that it is a great school of human character.' History, as everybody knows, classifies, criticises, compares and co-ordinates experience and then presents it to those who care for it. In order to make this experience useful, it

has to be acquired by all, and the acquisition is not in the acquisition of the facts of experience but in a mental habit for which the facts provide the mere material. As Lord Acton said, 'The gift of historical thinking is better than historical learning.' In other words, the utility of this experience is in the capacity to form correct judgment, which consists in an 'orderly marshalling and presentation of materials, the sifting of evidence, the discrimination of truth from falsehood and error, the selection of salient and relevant things from the mass of irrelevant and unimportant details, the estimation of character, the art of narrative, the comprehension of motives and principles,—these processes are surely developed more effectively through the study of history than by any other means.' If that is so, it becomes clear that the methods of history are not the exclusive property of the historian.

As has been clearly pointed out by F. J. Teggart in his work *Frontiers of History*, 'historical method is the same whatever the history investigated—whether that of the stellar universe, of the earth, of the forms of life upon earth, or of man. It comes to be seen that in each case the problem is the same, namely, to show how things have come to be as they are; that in each case the investigation presupposes the antecedence of innumerable series of historical events; that in each case the enquiry is based upon the assumption or axiom that things have come to be as they are through the continued operation of natural processes, and that these processes are to be discovered only through examination of what has happened in the past.' A historian has got two things to do. He has to find the truth, and then expound it in a way to be interesting and attractive. Neither of these operations is easy. Paradoxical as it may seem, the whole truth about the things with which history has to deal is, rarely if ever, contained in written form. 'History has its overtones, like music, which are caught only by the practised ear.' A historian must live in the period about which he chooses to write, as otherwise he will lapse into a mere compiler, between whom one of the marked differences is 'that a historian has absorbed the material about his chosen subject to an extent that enables him to write with that intimacy of acquaintance which cannot be derived merely from rapid and cursory reading.' The method is somewhat like the method of the successful advocate who elicits evidence 'from witnesses, but more difficult as the

witnesses are not present to the historian. Some even of the best historians have not escaped the influence of their times in writing the history of an earlier period. The danger is so real that according to Professor Pollard 'The best historian is one who can forget the present. A historian ought to exhibit that peculiar quality of Gibbon as a historian which consists in the thoroughness with which he absorbed his material and the art with which he moulded his work into a masterpiece of English prose.' According to Mr. Scott, then, historical work involves 'the investigation of the truth about the past by (1) the establishment of fact and probability, (2) the criticism of authorities whose testimony enables the facts and probabilities to be established, the comparison of their evidence; (3) the estimation of character and motive; (4) strict chronology and regard to the sequence of events; (5) the analysis of causes; (6) the avoidance of the fallacy of seeing the past as a mirror of the present; (7) the endeavour to see things which occurred in the past from the point of view of those who saw them, which means that we should not judge them exclusively from our point of view, since that may be one which would have been impossible for them; (8) the understanding of the philosophical basis of the action of historical personages, that is, of the ideas by which they were actuated; (9) the construction of narrative; (10) the practice of the virtuous habit of verification.'

While there are many bad ways of writing history, there are two good ones, and both of them have this feature in common that they demand a thorough absorption of the material by the mind before writing. Their difference consists in the method of writing. One of them consists in the historian producing the result of his study of the historical material in an artistic work of his own entirely, such as that of Gibbon. The other form of it consists in writing history in such a form that the historian incorporates in his writing the real essence of his sources by judicious selection of passages to be woven in his narrative. The result in both cases is the production of bright pictures without lackiness of movement. But neither of this kind of writing would be possible unless the writer had complete command of his material, so that the evidence has been absorbed and fused into his own consciousness. He then sets about to produce an artistic work, the art of the historian being different from that of the creative genius. A historian

merely employ the methods of the artist. 'He should give shape, but only to that which is already there, not to that which his fancy may mirror. Philosophical history is a desert, fanciful history an idiot asylum. We must therefore demand that the artistic designer should have a positive tendency of mind and a strictly scientific conscience. Before he reasons he must know; before he gives shape to a thing he must test it.' Such work can be turned out only after very great labour and by one possessed of a capacious memory whatever may be the mechanical aids to it otherwise available.

He then considers the relation between history and geography, and after an examination of the various views, arrives at the conclusion that while 'race, education, religion, language, occupation, the subtle influences of tradition and history, all exert their weight and any attempt at isolation of the geographical element is far more likely to generate fallacies than to yield dependable results.' Then he takes up the question of history and biography and combats the Carlylean dictum that history is a series of biographies. History is nowadays regarded as an 'intelligent interpretation of a vanished age, so that we may understand not only the leading motives of the leading actors on the stage, but the general tendencies of the time, the essential springs of change, the element of strength and weakness, of progress, reconsecration or decay which may be inferred from the recital of political transactions or from the analysis of social and economic fabric, and above all, so that we may form a just view of the political and social problems of the age.'

In his chapter on history and science, the author points out that the advance of scientific studies has affected historical studies in two ways, namely: (1) it has imparted a scientific spirit to historical investigations; and (2) it has influenced the work of historians by certain lines of scientific thought. It is a result of this that we have come to view the events of history as 'phenomena of social development and history itself as an aspect of sociology.' 'The essence of the scientific spirit,' wrote Huxley, 'is criticism,' and the more the spirit of criticism permeates historical study, the more will it assert its value as a study essential to human welfare. The question whether history is a science, is an oft-discussed question, and is not likely to be answered definitely one way or the other. The intermediate view that it is both a science and an art is perhaps nearer correct in the sense

' that it has in view action which touches the earth, and the idea which touches the skies ' Another definite view is that history is a science like the moral sciences, but not like the physical. These views turn round upon different notions of the word ' science '. History may be regarded as a science inasmuch as it has to present evidence, criticise that evidence, and as a result of that criticism arrive at conclusions, and to this extent it may be regarded as *valued knowledge*, and as such a science; History has also at the same time to present pictures of the past, analyse character, probe motives, and requires skill in the narration. So far as these are done successfully, it may be regarded as an art. After all it is only a question of points of view towards historical material. In the words of the author ' there is historical writing by modern authors which is as precisely accurate and as carefully wrought in its arrangement of evidence as the most fastidious scientific mind could desire, and is at the same time touched with the magic of style, and aglow with imagination. The high accomplishment of the historian who excels in both the scientific and the artistic attributes is, however, not frequently attained. Perfect achievement in this vocation is not to be expected to be more common than is poetry, mathematics, philosophy, or any other study in which soundness of matter combined with imagination is desirable. '

He then passes on to the place of history in education. What is to be history teaching in educational institutions and universities, and what sort of it, and how much of it, is to be taught is a question which has been exercising the minds of educationists, and one demand more than others is to make history teaching interesting. In regard to this, it is pointed out that ' you can make history teaching so interesting that no history is left, but only a soothing syrup compounded of romance, imagination, poetry, coloured pictures, legends, fairy stories, anecdotes, Harrison Ainsworth's novels, plasticine models and notes of exclamation. The intellectual discipline that should be imparted by the study of it may be smothered by frills and frivolities. ' The outstanding mark of history teaching is that it provides one of the most efficient methods of forming the mind. ' Sound teaching in the subject needs to keep a course between the desert where no flowers bloom and the swamps of romanticism where amphibious creatures wriggle about. Good history teaching should include some constructive

work. 'The art of narrative can be taught through the study of history more effectively than by any other means.' This narrative must be constructed from evidence acquired from a variety of sources, and historical skill consists in selecting what is relevant and interesting and from this *dispute* *materials* constructing a narrative. This 'brings out the originality of the student, tests his ingenuity, imparts a sense of relevancy, sharpens his discernment.' History is of use in providing the means of studying character. The really 'valuable thing in the study of character is to get to understand why men and women acted as they did, how they were bent by storms, diverted from the path of intention by stress of events, how they were deflected by the invitation of expediency, how inherent weakness, with subversive force or subtle insinuation, determined them.' Understanding is the main aim of this branch of historical study, and to 'view a historical situation as it presented itself to those who had to face it and to do something in regard to it is a valuable effort of imagination conducing to sound and tolerant judgment.' Apart from the mere instruction imparted, the weighing of evidence has a valuable educative discipline. While it may be admitted that historical knowledge is good, history teaching ought to inculcate certain intellectual virtues and habits. This involves discipline of mind as well as learning. In the words of J. W. Allen, 'We want to make it easy and even habitual to suspend judgment. We want to make it absolutely impossible to hold opinions based upon grossly insufficient knowledge of the facts. We want a habit of thinking of conclusions as more or less probable rather than as true or untrue. We want to develop a realistic imagination of the number of different views that may be held on almost any really complex question.' History teaching must further awaken curiosity in the student. 'Teaching that does not evoke curiosity is a failure, and that which endeavours to suppress it is an offence.' Connected with this is the teaching of the subject as a humanising power, which in the words of Mr. Trevelyan shows how the 'study of the past controversies of which the final outcome is known, destroys the spirit of prejudice, and brings home to the mind the evils that are likely to spring from violent policy, based on want of understanding of opponents.' This *humanistic* *view* of history is closely associated with the moral efficacy of a study of history which consists in the view that the only real moral history is true history, and the

search for truth is itself a moral act. Incidentally reference is made here to national and international history, and it is pointed out that either of them could be made as good as the other from this point of view, the crux of the problem being in the rigorous search for truth and nothing but truth.

Passing on to the subject of history and patriotism, it is admitted that the correct teaching of history will have the effect of stimulating patriotism. At the same time pointed attention is drawn to the fact that the 'pressing of it into a patriotic mould has been one of the most fruitful causes of the manufacture of much pestilentially bad history.' The principal object of history is to ascertain truth, and when this is done no good can be likely to be damaged nor a bad cause ameliorated. Truth-telling is its business first and foremost. Attention is drawn here to a remark of the historian Hanks whose admirable historian represents the 'poet, patriot, the religious or political partisan, to sustain no cause and write nothing that would gratify his own feelings or disclose his private conviction.' When a German divine who wrote about Luther met him in Berlin and greeted him with warmth as a confrere, 'Pardon me, Sir,' said Ranke, 'there is great difference between us; you are in the first place a Christian, I am in the first place a historian.' This means that detachment is absolutely necessary for the historian as to be detached is hardly the same as to be remote. At the same time history requires to be studied sympathetically to be understood, and without that sympathy, it would be rather difficult to make others understand. While therefore sympathy must be regarded as an essential element in the study and teaching of history, the treatment of it with sufficient detachment none the less is essential. The discussion concludes with the remark 'History should be wholly patriotic in its uplift; but it is bad history that sets patriotism before truth, and bad patriotism that deserves such disservice.' Discussing the varieties of history in the next chapter, he discloses the various problems connected therewith. The general position is summed up in the following paragraph:—

'The historian is compelled to put into a page or a paragraph material which he has gathered from a wide range of sources, and this involves the simultaneous enrolment of several mental processes. His statements must be true to fact, they must convey the essential purport of his evidence, and they must be related in good narrative

form. He must seize the salient things, disregard the details which seem to him to be unimportant, and blend the whole in a piece of writing which carries forward his story. 'To find a form of words which shall be true, loaded with information, essential, and at the same time readable, requires a command of art more complex than that involved in any other form of literature. Frequently there are gaps in the evidence, and the historian has to wrestle with probability, or he may be confronted with discrepancies which he has to resolve, or he may find a piece of testimony concerning a point which, if true, is important, but he may doubt its truth, and be unable to find corroboration of it. There is hardly a subject on which a historian can write, as to which he will not be compelled to make up his mind on some points of extreme necessity.' Discussing the qualities that ought to be prominent in a historian's equipment, Macaulay is quoted with approval in regard to the possession of a disciplined imagination, as it is in the use of that that 'history calls for the gifts of the artist as well as for the orderly and analytical qualities of the scientific mind, the keenness and industry of the investigator, and the reflective insight of the philosopher. Imagination is the highest of historical endowments because it enables the breath of his to animate the dry bones, but it is a peril and a delusion without the discipline of scientific training.'

The next two chapters are concerned with the two topics,—the Problems of History and its Living Force. In summarizing the various problems that confront the historian and the various pitfalls to be avoided, the author says:—'Historians, then, are liable to the same failings, the same disposition towards fondness for their own ideas, as are other people; and even those who have a bias against bias do not escape errors of other kinds. The test of dependableness, indeed, is not absence of bias, but the presence of good faith. The writer of honest intent will take care that no piece of evidence known to him or accessible to him, is neglected. He will be prompt to rectify a conclusion in the light of freshly discovered facts. He will state points of view even when he does not approve of the conduct which they explain. He will endeavour to present a case as it was seen by those who were concerned in it, so that their motives, so far as discoverable, shall be fairly disclosed. He will base his judgment upon verified facts, and will not prejudice an issue by expressions, by

twisting truth in the manner of unfair controversialists, by failing to give the "other side" when there is another side which ought to be heard. It is this good faith which makes sound history, not the detouring of the historian by making him disinterested in respect to opinions, feelings, sympathies and aversions.' He then points out that to the historian the subject presents itself as an infinite range of problems in the solution of which he has to exercise his mind upon arriving at generalisations. This process of generalisation 'calls for a very rare kind of intellectual effort.' 'Great knowledge and imagination in combination are requisite to draw from the multitude of facts those combinations which show the coherency of them, their veritable meaning, and their moral import.' He further points out to the very general question of the value of history, and gives the only possible answer, the moral grandeur of finding the truth because it is truth. In discussing the living force of history, he quotes Bismarck with approval that 'Mistakes committed in statesmanship are not always punished at once, but they always do harm in the end. The logic of history is a more exact and a more exacting accountant than is the strictest national auditing department.' The encouraging feature of history is that a knowledge of the past has this exceptionally beneficent and fruitful advantage 'that you see, set in the clear light of historical truth, examples of every possible type. From these you may select for yourself and your country what to imitate, and also what, as being mischievous in its inception and disastrous in its issues, you are to avoid.' 'With the study of history in all its forms,' writes Mr. Marvin, 'our interest in the future has been immeasurably enhanced.' The living force of history consists not only in the forms of Government which have been developed, the institutions which have been established, and even continually adopted to the service of society, but in the way it works in the psychology of peoples, and in the innumerable utilities which have been placed at our service by the discoveries and the labours of our forebears! The work concludes with the following remark that history has an 'influence upon living generations—educationally as a discipline with its own value for the forming of intellectual habits; scientifically as a field of knowledge of incalculable richness, and a method for the investigation of truth.' We say amen, and apologise for the length of the review. The subject is of such considerable importance and the misimpressions

regarding the subject so prevalent that we thought it worthwhile exhibiting the ideas of one that has apparently bestowed considerable thought to the subject with sufficient elaboration to do him just in the first instance, and to the subject itself next. It is to be hoped that the subject will receive the attention that it richly deserves.

'THE LIFE OF ŚRĪ VYĀSARĀJA BY SOMANĀTHA'

BY

R. VENKOTA RAO, B. A.

Mysore Civil Service

THIS is a Sanskrit work in the form of a *Champu*, that is, a prose work with poetical pieces thrown in so as to constitute one continuous narrative. It is a style of *Lays* which Sanskrit poets affect very much.

The work has for its subject the Mādhva ascetic Vyāsaratna, the founder of the Vyāsaratna Mātha, which continues to flourish as one of the well-known religious houses of the Mādhyas, who regard him among them as recognised ones. The author Somanātha was a student of Āchārya Vyāsaratna, and was therefore a younger contemporary. He lived in the days of Āchārya Vyāsaratna, and the work was written almost about the same time as the chronicle of Munda. It is, however, much more valuable than the Portuguese chronicle in that it deals with matter with which either the hero or the author was directly connected. Naturally a contemporary work of this character would labour from defects peculiar to itself. Notwithstanding this defect, the work is of great value, and as, at the present time, we have the means for checking it satisfactorily, it may be used as a source of history for the comparatively dark period of the latter half of the fifteenth century and the more or less well-known period of the first third of the sixteenth. Unfortunately, however, the work is published from a single manuscript which being in the possession of a private owner, required considerable effort and tact to secure. The credit of making this available to the public is due to two officers of the Mysore

Service, both of them members of the family of the late Dewan Sir P. N. Krishnamurti. It is matter for great regret however that Mr. Srinivasamurti who secured the manuscript died before he could make arrangements for its publication, and Mr Venkoba Rao who actually published it died within a few weeks of its publication.

The period of history covered by the life of Vyāsaśrīja corresponds to the period of the rise of the Śājuva chieftain, Narasimha, to power. For many years during his reign Āchārya Vyāsaśrīja stayed under his auspices in Tirupati, and sometimes even at his court. He enjoyed the confidence of his successor *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagar, Narasa, and of his son, the great Krishnādēvarāya. The Āchārya's active life thus corresponds to the best period of Śājuva Narasimha's life, and those of Narasa and Krishnādēvarāya. During the latter period in particular, he was intimately associated with Vijayanagar itself.

For this period, the only satisfactory accounts so far available are our own *Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History* and the *Source of Vijayanagar History* published by the Madras University. The authorities have been in great bulk, the literature of the period, while a large number of inscriptions have been from time to time made public throwing welcome light on various points. The work under review being the life of an important person who played an influential part in the court itself, provides information on many points on which it was wanted, and thus fills a very important gap in our sources of knowledge for the period.

Vyāsaśrīja was born about A. D. 1440 and died about the year A. D. 1530, so that his life covered the best part of a century, while his active life was one of almost about seventy years extending from the period of the death of Mallikarjuna, the Emperor, down to almost the end of the reign of Achyutarāya. Vyāsaśrīja was born of parents in the village of Baṅgar on the banks of the Kaveri not far from Śrīranganpattanam. He is early taken charge of for purposes of education by the saintly Brahmanya Tirtha, and in due course and at the command of the teacher, he goes out on a pilgrimage first to Kauski, and then stays with the Madhya Āchārya Śrīpādaśrīja at Mulbagal. At the suggestion of the latter, he proceeded to the court of Śājuva Narasimha at Chandragiri. Owing to certain untoward occurrences at the temple of Tirupati, this Āchārya had to remain there for a number of

years, noted down actually as twelve years. This prolonged stay near the court, his great learning and disinterested character made him a person often looked upon as guide and philosopher by successive rulers of Vijayanagar, so much so that under Narasa, he became the regular adviser to the Court. He lived in Vijayanagar afterwards in one of its suburbs, and his name became a sort of university to which all seekers of the light of learning went. In the days, of that great patron of learning, Krishnadevaraya, himself an author and a man of learning, Vijayanagar became a centre of learning and people flocked to the court for exhibiting their learning and receiving their rewards from the great patron. It is here that great dissertations were held, among them being one in which Vyāsarāja had to meet the great Vallabha Ācharya, the founder of the Śuddha Advaita school, of Gujarat. Later on, Vyāsarāja seems to have lived for a little while at Bāhur, the old capital of the Hoysalas. It was in this period that Somasinha, the author who completed his education, the latter part under Vyāsarāja himself, was advised by some friends to take upon himself the work of composing the life of Śrīvyāsarāja, which he did. When he submitted it to the assembly of learned men at the court of Vyāsarāja himself, the work received the approval of the Ācharya.

Mr. Venkoba Rao, the editor, has spared no pains to collect together all the historical matter scattered through the work and exhibit it in a critical introduction, in which he has made ample use, for purposes of comparison, of the two works already referred to, and the *Sahasraśatnamam*, another Sanskrit classic bearing upon the rise of the Bāhuva, that is, Bāhuva Narasinha to power. The new work throws considerable light upon obscure points on which light was wanted. To give but one instance, we are let into the secret of what actually took place during the last five years of Krishnadevaraya's rule, for which we had hitherto no satisfactory material. Similar instances, where the work gives new but welcome light, could be mentioned in some number. We conclude the review, however, with the expression of our sincere appreciation of the efforts of the two lamented officers of the Mysore Service, to whose efforts we are indebted for this welcome source of historical information, not being in a position to offer them our congratulations on the happy completion of their labour of love.

MADHURĀVIJAYAM OR VIRAKAMPARĀYA CHARITA

BY

GANGADŪVI

THIS Sanskrit work, of which there is only a single manuscript available to us was published some time back, and had remained for about a couple of years already out of print. The present publication is a new edition by Pandit Harbhara Sastri of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Publication Department. It is matter for regret that the Pandit was not able to secure another manuscript, and hence the edition is almost a re-print of the previous edition except for comparatively minor expunctions and corrections here and there. The work is an important one in many ways, and it is matter for satisfaction that the Pandit thought it worth his while issuing a new edition, imperfect as it is.

This is one of a class of historical poems of which a few have come to notice recently. The work is of a class with Bihara's *Pillamarudra Charita* and Banu's *Harsha Charita*. The late Dr. Bühler accepted these two works as specimens of the historical literature of the Hindus, and controverted the position that the Hindus had no historical sense. A number more have been discovered of that character, of which is the *Rajasekhariyadaya* of Ramanabhrūta and *Acharyarayakhyayaya* of Tirumallāka, both specimens of acknowledged merit. There is also a classic *Sahasayadaya*, another poem of a historical character. Of these it is only *Acharyarayakhyayaya* that has been published in part. *Madhurarayadaya* differs from either of these poems of poetesses in this, that the authoress, Gangadūvi was not a woman like the other authoresses devoting themselves to learning almost with a professional interest. She was the wife of prince Kampana, who is the hero of the poem. It is a unique example of a poem by a princess attempting to celebrate the exploits of her own husband.

The poem is cast in the form of heroic poems of the kind. It provides a considerable amount of historical material of value relating to a period for which reliable information was hitherto scanty. - This poem gives the first glimpse from an Indian source, except, of course, the tomes of the Sultans, relating to the dynasty of Muhammadans

of Madura, and of the occupation of various other centres in the Tamil country by the Muhammedans. The story begins with Kumāra Kampana's birth, and the charge laid by Kumāra's father to him to go forth and conquer the south of India from the Muhammedans. Kumāra Kampana seems to have been the prince entrusted with the charge of the great province with the capital at Mūlbagal in the Mysore State now. Therefrom he proceeded, first overpowering the Sambhuvīryan rulers of Marakṣmagura (Vīrinchipuram) not far from Vellore, and then took possession of the whole of Tondaimadalam. Therefrom he marched southwards, defeated the Muhammedans, at Śīrangam, and then again at Madura thus succeeding in the effort in which the last great Hoysala ruler, Vīra Ballala III fell. The poem is incomplete, and does not give us the whole of the story, which we know from other sources. It is as a successful result of this campaign of prince Kampana that Madura, Śīrangam and other holy places of the south were restored to their ancient state of glory and holiness, thereby symbolising the victory of the Hindus over the conquering Muhammedans who had established cantonments in various parts. The work is of considerable historical value and even of great literary merit, and Pandit Haribara Sastri deserves the gratitude of those interested for having given a new edition of it to the public, though only a reprint.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary

September 1926—

- A. S. RAMANATHA Aiyar: 'A Note on Bhaskara Ravivarman's Date.' Examines K. N. Daniel's conclusions on the date of this king and holds the view that the Chera Bhaskara Ravivarman flourished in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. His date of accession is determined to be A.D. 978.
- Y. R. GORTY: 'The Kahabaratas, were they exterminated? or have they left any traces in the population of Dekhan?', questions the truth of the claim that the Kahabaratas were exterminated by Gantamiputra as claimed in his inscriptions. The Kahabaratas are identified with Kharatas, now a shepherd community in Dekhan, the term Kharata being a shortened form of Kahabaratas.

October 1926—

- H. SKOLD. 'The Relative Chronology of Pankaj and the Pratihayas.' This paper attempts at establishing the precise age of Pankaj by examining present position.
- A. S. RAMANATHA Aiyar. 'A Note on Queen Minakshi of Madurai.' Examines a recently discovered copper plate grant of Minakshi of Madurai. The importance of this record consists in as much as it carries the rule of Minakshi to February 1739. The hitherto known date is 1736 or 1737. The grant confirms the date given by *Neharvilladevarajaru*.

November 1926—

- A. VENKATASUBRAIYA: 'Vedic Studies.'
- B. M. EDWARDS. 'The Population of Bombay, Remarks concerning the Origin and Growth.'

December 1926—

- B. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR: 'Vyāghra, the Feudatory of Vakataka Pratiharsana.' Sets forth different lines of evidence to prove the identity Vyāghradeva of the Neohara and Ganj inscriptions with

Vyāghraśekh of Mahākāntara of Samudragupta pillar inscription, questions the identity of this chief propounded by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil.

- T. K. JOSEPH: 'St. Thomas of South India' Sets forth reasons to conclude that St. Thomas never visited South India, questions the truth of tradition that he went to South India and died at Mylapore. It is held that St. Thomas died at Arachoma.

Indian Historical Quarterly

September 1936—

- N. G. MAJUMDAR. 'A New Brahmi Inscription from Mathura.'

This inscription in Brahmi in one line testifies to the existence of a king called Vishnumitra in the first century A.C. It is suggested that he is identical with the Vishnumitra of the coins. (Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, part vii, No. 21, page 84)

- K. G. BAKKARA 'The Early Pallavas of Kanchi.' Attempts to

rearrange the genealogy of the early Pallavas of Kanchi of the copper-plate charters. Holds that present arrangements are incorrect. His theories include one that the Pallavas of Bhadravijayagotra who ruled at Kanchi including the donors of Prakrit plates should have ruled after Kumaravahan whom he is inclined to identify with Vishnugopa, the sūryavary of Samudragupta. It is also held that Simhavishnu and his descendants belong to a collateral Pallava dynasty ruling at Amaravati as feudatories of B. Gangas of Kalinga. Trilochana is identified with Nandivarman and Karikala is assigned the period immediately preceding Simhavishnu.

- B. J. THOMAS: 'Buddhist Education in Pall and Sanskrit Schools.'

- N. M. LAW: 'The Jnapada and the Pura' Examines the evidence bearing on the political functions of these bodies.

Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society

June 1936—

- DR. STAN KOSOV: 'The Inscription of the so-called Bodhgaya Plaque.' The inscription has been read as *Kṛ* (*thamasa*) *Samgha* (*sa*) as *sa* *hūn*, 'the work of Sangadase the Kanthuma.

- N. GANGULI: 'The Indian Architecture from the Vedic Period.'

- H. HIRAS: 'Notes on the Historical Carvings at Vijayanagara.'
 Draws the attention of scholars to some carvings of historical importance at Vijayanagara. Three of the panels are reproduced. Identifies one with Friar Lopus, the first ambassador of Albuquerque.
- C. K. VENEKATARAMANA AYYA: 'Kalkida and Bhasa in the Light of Some Western Criticisms.'

Annals of Bhamburda Research Institute

VOLUME VII, PART II

- P. C. DIVANTI: 'Madhusūdhana Sarasvati, his Life and Works.'
- B. C. LAW: 'Rajaguru in Pali Literature.'
- C. CHAKRAVARTI: 'The Original Site of Maharaja Piliya.' This is regarded as being situated at Haridwara and that Sultan Firoz Shah removed it to its present position in Delhi.
- B. M. BANUA: 'Āgata, What it Means?'
 Do. 'Gateways of Bharat Stupa'
- D. R. BHAKTANATHAN: 'Can we fix the date of Kalkida more accurately?' Concludes that Kalkida flourished in the second and third quarters of the sixth century.

Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society

VOLUME I, Nos. 1 AND 2

- G. RAMIDAS: 'Trikalings' Questions the interpretation of the term as meaning three Kalingas. According to Ramidas Trikalinga means high Kalinga and conveys the same idea as Mei Kalinga or Mekul, the name of the region lying west of Kalinga.
- R. BUNDA RAU: 'Pedavagi Plates of Nandivarma II.'
- M. RAMAKRISHNAKAVI: 'King Nanyadeva on Music.'

Indian Art and Letters

VOLUME II, No. 1

- F. PELLION: 'Indian Influences in the Early Chinese Art in Tun-Huang.' Report of a lecture by Professor Paul Pelliot at the India Society in November 1925 followed by discussion.

The Journal of the R. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1926

- HOSHYALA 'Five Lectures on the Parsi History' Dealing with various aspects of Parsi History and the dates of Hormadysar and Ramjar and Neryosanag Ikhval

Islam Review

VOLUME I, No. 1

- KUTUB BUKHAR 'The Arab Academies and their Professors.' Translated from 'Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer,' by F. Wustenfeld
- J. SARKAR 'A Forgotten Aspect of the Mughal Empire' Draws attention to the constant communication in the days of the Mughal rule between India and the Islamic lands of the Middle East and Central Asia especially to the return current from India and the part played by the Rajput and the Indian Mussalmans, Mansing, Jaising and Jawant Sing in trans-Indian military outposts.
- D. R. BHANDARKAR 'Ancient Monuments on Mount Abu.' Discusses the importance and the styles of the monuments of this Mount in Rajputana.
- A. F. M. ABUL ALI: 'Notes on the Early History of the English Factory at Deccan.'
- B. KUTUB BUKHAR, 'Islam and Toleration.' Emphasises the view that Islam was tolerant and gives a list of cultural achievements in Mathematics, Philosophy and Medical science which could not be possible without toleration and sympathy.
- A. F. M. ABUL ALI: 'Notes on the life and times of Hanfit Singh.'

The Vrihadharishi Quarterly

October 1926—

- C. FORMACHT: 'The Dynamic Element in Indian Religious Development.'

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

VOLUME XXI, No. 3

HARIN KOWAL. 'A European Parallel to the Durgapuja.'

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)**October 1916—*

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. 'The Later Śatavahanas and Śakas.'

P. G. PATTERSON. 'Notes on Kālikāsa.' It is held that the poet was born in Vidarbha, about A.D. 370, wrote his three plays and *Kumarsambhava* at the Court of Chandragupta II between A.D. 380 and 410 and the *Māgadaka* and *Raghuvamśa* at Bhōjkalā between A. D. 410 and 430.

G. JOUVINAT-DUMÉNIL: 'La Tholée Aryenne du Malabar.' Announces the discovery of monuments in the Sumatran style datable about 1000 B.C. in Malabar. Illustrative photographs of the monuments are given.

*Bengal, Past and Present**July to September 1916—*

R. B. RAHESOTHAN. 'The Death of Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras.' Gives extracts from the Records of the Government of India.

B. K. BASU: 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Social Relaxation.'

*American Oriental Journal**September 1916—*

W. B. CLARK: 'Some misunderstandings about India.' The popular view that the Indian Civilisation is essentially spiritual and dominated by mysticism and asceticism is here examined in detail and it is held inaccurate, as Indian energy throughout her history had been equally devoted to political organisation, economic life and every kind of secular enterprise and achievement.

W. H. HOFFMANN: 'The Original Ramayana.'

W. F. ALLENBY: 'Notes on the Topography of Ancient Mesopotamia.'

Modern Review

October and December 1926—⁸

M. WINTERMITS. 'The Poet Aqvaghosa and his school' (translated by B. Ghosh from the original German work of Dr Wintermits, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*)

H. K. GHOSH. 'Origin of Indian Drama.'

H. K. BARHAN. 'A Preface to the Hindu Categories of International Law.'

OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*,
Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française D'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*,
London University, London, Longmans, Green
& Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London
Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, 3, Misalou Row, Calcutta.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul
Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The
Ashrama', Luz, Myslapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic
Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Laiden, Holland.
14. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
15. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
16. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia
University, New York.
17. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research
Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajmundry.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall,
, Cenotoph Road, Bangalore.
19. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
20. *Yogo-Minensa, Kum'javana*, Lonavia, Bombay.

GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

बृहत्तर-भारत परिषद्

DR. KALIDAS NAO, the Honorary Secretary of the Greater India Society, has written to me to issue an appeal on behalf of the society, and as one in full sympathy with its aims and objects. I have pleasure in publishing the following note for the information of the readers of this valuable journal.

Aimam Vahiki of the *Upanishads* is the motto of this Association, the aims and objects of which are —

(1) To organize the study of Indian Culture in Greater India, i.e. (a) *Serindia* or Central Asia, (b) *Indic Africa* (Afghanistan, etc.), (c) *Indo-China*, or Burma, Siam, Laos, Cambodia, Champa, etc., (d) *Insulinidia*, or Sumatra, Java, Bali, Madura and the islands of the Malay Archipelago, (e) China, Corea and Japan and (f) other countries of Asia, such as Iran and Western Asia.

(2) To arrange for the publication of the results of the researches into the history of India's spiritual and cultural relations with the outside world, and gradually to arrange for the issuing of a regular organ of the society.

(3) To create an interest in the history of Greater India and connected problems among the students in the schools, colleges, and Universities of India by instituting systematic study of these subjects and to take proper steps to stimulate the same.

(4) To popularize the knowledge of Greater India by organizing meetings, lantern lectures, exhibitions and conferences.

(5) To form branch centres in different parts of India and to encourage systematic collection of books, pictures, models, illustrations, periodicals, monographs, statistics, etc., forming the nucleus of a Greater India Library and Museum.

(6) To institute endowments and prizes to encourage research into the history of Indian cultural expansion.

With these and other objects the society has been inaugurated on October 10, 1928, at Calcutta. Prof. Jyotirmath Sarker, A.M., is the President of the Society. Among the Patrons are Pandit

M. M. Malaviya, Vice-chancellor, Benares Hindu University, Mahamahopadhyaya Harprasad Sastri, *and*, and Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, *et*. There is besides an influential body of the Academic Council consisting, among others, distinguished scholars like Dr. B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar of the Madras University, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Dacca University and Dr. N. N. Law, editor of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. The first general meeting of the society will be held sometime about April 1927, when the final list of the office-bearers and members would be presented.

Membership of the Greater India Society is free to all lovers of India, to all serious students of the Indian cultural expansion and to all sympathisers of such studies and activities. The privileges of membership are the following—

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Note.—The Minimum subscription of donors and honorary members is Rs 100, of an associate Rs 12 annually, corresponding member Rs. 6 annually and student member Rs. 2.

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EDITOR

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Contributors of articles to this journal will greatly oblige the editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the editor, in entering instructions to the press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proofs, etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

The Gurjara Empire in North India

BY

PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI Aiyangar, B.A., HON. PH.D.

INTRODUCTORY

AMONG the ancient kingdoms of India, Kashmir has the unique distinction of having a recorded history of its own. This history however is a comparatively late production, and, having been written in the twelfth century from such material as came into the possession or knowledge of the writer, labours from the disadvantages of a secondary work. Its value as a historical composition is in a great measure discounted, in regard to the earlier periods particularly, as Kalhana the author compiles his information from sources which are generally not indicated, and perhaps even of doubtful historical value. Such as it is, therefore, while we are in a much better position in respect of this kingdom than in regard to very many others, the possession of this history does not advance our knowledge of the history of India very far. When we come to the age of Harsha, however, we get on to some firm ground of history in regard to Kashmir. A dynastic change took place about that time, it may be somewhat earlier, and a new dynasty called the Kīrkitaka dynasty came to power. With the beginning of this dynasty the Kashmir account gains in value as history, and we have the means of checking it in the coinage of the country, which is available in some quantity, and from references in dated Chinese annals. With the aid of these we may arrive at a chronological order for Kashmir which is not perhaps very far from the actual. In this particular period an error of twenty to twenty-five

years seems possible, and Kalhana perhaps antedates the reigns by about that period.

The first ruler of this dynasty, according to Kalhana, was a man of humbler origin from the point of a view of Kashmir royalty and it is to remove this bar sinister, that a descent from Nāga Kārkoṭaka had been invented, this fictitious descent actually giving the name to the dynasty. He made himself a very useful official, and gradually rose into favour with the last ruler of the Gonarda dynasty, Baladitya by name, and rose to the rank of becoming a son-in-law of the monarch. Durishba, as a result of this marriage, was able ultimately to succeed to the throne either because of the natural extinction of the previous dynasty or by usurpation. Durishba apparently was the ruler of Kashmir when Hsien Tsang visited the kingdom in about the years A.D. 631-633. There are numbers of coins of rude make bearing the inscription Durishhadīva. This coinage may be ascribed to this ruler; even here we cannot be certain as his son bore a name somewhat similar, but as he had a different title, the probabilities are that the first Durishba issued these coins. We have, however, more certain reference in the Chinese annals, which mention a Tu-lo-pa as the king of India, at some date within the period A.D. 637-646, and controlled the route from China to Kipin, that is, the Kailā Valley. From the somewhat full account that Hsien Tsang gives of Kashmir during the period of his visit we can draw the inference that the country was peaceful and prosperous, and the authority of the ruler actually extended to include all the adjacent territories, the frontier reaching down to the plains. All the hilly portions of the Punjab seem to have been under Kashmir, and even the kingdom of Takshashila seems to have been brought under control recently. Hsien Tsang also notes that in religion Kashmir was not Buddhist, but much rather Hindu. According to Kalhana he had a long reign of thirty-six years, and was succeeded by his son, Durlabhaka, who had the title of Pratāpāditya.

Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II succeeded his father Durishhavaradhana. The Kārkoṭa copper coins with the legend Śat Pratāpa are ascribed to him. They are of two varieties, and are found in some number, thus justifying to some extent the long period of rule ascribed to him; but of the actual events of the reign Kalhana records nothing of importance. He married Nandradagnabhī, the wife of a foreign merchant under somewhat romantic circumstances, and had by her three sons, Chae-

drāpīda, Tārāpīda, Muktiāpīda, who ruled in succession after him. Barring the construction of certain buildings of minor importance, Kālihana records nothing more of value. He had a long reign of fifty years and was succeeded by his eldest son, Chandrāpīda.

Chandrāpīda finds reference in Chinese records as King Tchen T'o-lo pi-lí mentioned in the Chinese annals as ruling over Kashmir in A.D. 713 and again in A.D. 720. He applied in A.D. 717 to the Chinese Emperor for assistance against the Arabs. The second reference is that, in the year A.D. 720, the Chinese Emperor granted to this ruler the title of King. This second reference implies of necessity that Chandrāpīda must have been alive at least up to the previous year A.D. 719. According to Kālihana's dating his reign of nine years would fall between A.D. 696 and 805. This makes a difference of twenty-five years, Kālihana misdating Chandrāpīda, according to Kālihana, had a noble character, and had been apparently remembered in Kashmir as an eminently humane administrator of justice. His name is associated with the founding of a number of temples in Vishnu. His death is stated to have been brought about by the use of witchcraft on the part of a wicked brother of his, Tārāpīda, who succeeded to the throne. Tārāpīda who ascended the throne in this manner, succumbed to magic again used against him by the Brahmans whom he had oppressed. This intervention of magic in regard to the two rulers indicates that at the time belief in magic must have been current, and it must have been believed in largely. Thus, almost about a century after the founding of this dynasty, the Kashmir throne was occupied by a ruler, Lalitāditya Muktiāpīda, the last of the three sons of Durdabaka. Muktiāpīda's reign is of some importance in Indian History, and, allowing for the twenty-five years' correction already noted, would begin somewhere about A.D. 725 at the latest.

According to Kālihana, Muktiāpīda ruled for a little over thirty-six years, from A.D. 698 to 736. Notwithstanding this long reign no coins of Lalitāditya have come to light. But fortunately we have foreign notices with which we can check Kālihana's chronology in this particular. The annals of the Tang dynasty refer to the name of Mi-to-pi, a king of Kashmir, who sent an embassy to the Chinese court during the reign of the Emperor, Hsien Tsung, A.D. 713-85. This embassy is said to have arrived after the first Chinese expedition to Po-shu (Balistan) which took place sometime between A.D. 736 and

747. It is unfortunate that the precise date of this invasion should not have been recorded, as then it would have provided us with a valuable confirmation of a correction¹ in Kalhana's chronology. Adopting the correction already made on the basis of the reference to Chandrīpīḍa, Muktiḍīḍa's reign must have commenced in A.D. 734, and, if we accept the thirty-six years' length of reign, would have terminated in A.D. 760. Whatever be the value of this precise dating we may accept the period as roughly correct. Muktiḍīḍa is referred to as Mu-to-pi in the Chinese annals. But Alberuni calls him Muta which may have been formed from some Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa form of the name, Mūka, and seems to conceal the Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa form Muttapī. We get another variant of the name in the itinerary of Ou-k'ong who speaks of him as the founder of the Mingti *Vihāra* where he stayed for some time. From the geographical details that he gives of this *Vihāra*, it seems to refer to a monastery built by Muktiḍīḍa. Since his name appears in the contracted form in connection with his buildings, such as Muktabhāvara and Mukta-svami, it seems probable that the *Vihāra* built by him was called Mūka, which, in the Chinese transcription, has become Mingti. Muktiḍīḍa's appeal to China shows him as in imminent danger of an invasion of Kashmir from Tibet. He sought the assistance of the Celestial Empire for an auxiliary force of two hundred thousand men for which he agreed to provide provisions and encampment on the shores of the Mahāpadma Lake (Vular Lake). Incidentally it is also recorded that he was in alliance with the ruler of Central India, and together they blocked 'the five passes' leading from Tibet. This puts a different complexion on the character of his reign from that which the Kashmir account implies. Notwithstanding this difference, there is little room for doubt that the ruler referred to in these records is Muktiḍīḍa and no other.

Who was this ruler of Central India who at the period of the threatened invasion from Tibet could have blocked the five passes along with the ruler of Kashmir against Tibet? A ruler who could block all the five passes leading from Tibet into India except on the Kashmir side must have been one whose authority extended over the central block of territory which constituted the Gupta Empire, and would include three separate geographical and political divisions. In other words, he must have been the one ruler over the whole terri-

tory comprised in the kingdom of Kmenj as under Harsha, the kingdom of Magadha, and the province of Tirabhnkti, leaving Pundra further east. This leaves out the passes to Arawa which go too far east for the purpose. Hence this statement implies the existence of a powerful Central Indian ruler who might, without any violence to the words, be described as an imperial ruler. The same T'ang annals mention under date A.D. 731 an embassy from Central India from a ruler Icho-tan-wo, who is said to have sent his minister Heng-po-tu on the mission. Panther has identified Icho-tan-wo with Yasoverman, and the suggestion seems quite acceptable from the point of view of Phonetics. This mission from Yasoverman probably has had the same object as that from Muktipāda, and hence the date given for Muktipāda's mission, by H. Cordier from Chinese sources, of A.D. 733, may be accepted as correct. Then then it becomes clear that during the years A.D. 731-733 Yasoverman was the acknowledged ruler of Central India, and was in alliance with Muktipāda of Kashmir, and both together had arranged to take common action against the powerful neighbouring state of Tibet to prevent its aggression across the mountain frontiers. The war between Muktipāda and Yasoverman, therefore, must have taken place later than the year A.D. 733 and we might even say later than the year A.D. 735. The year A.D. 735 therefore gives the lower limit of the war.¹ Having regard to all that Muktipāda is credited with having done in the *Rajatarangini*, a further reign of about twenty years does not seem impossible, and therefore the period actually ascribed above to the reign of Muktipāda, say A.D. 714-730, does not appear to be far from correct. Yasoverman himself must have begun to rule earlier than Muktipāda, and must have gradually built up an empire for himself in Mid-India. He could have done that only by succeeding to the position of the Later Guptas of Magadha, starting from his own ancestral estate, very much circumscribed at the time, the territory of the Maukharis. Although Maukhari greatness had vanished with the death of Grahavarman, there had been Maukhari chieftains of sufficient dignity to enter into marriage alliances even with Āḍityasāhā. In fact Āḍityasāhā's daughter was married to the Maukhari Bhogavarman, and the latter's daughter Vatsadēvi married Śīvaśīva II of Nepal, whose son Jayadēva

¹ For the chronological and other details, see Stein's translation of *Rajatarangini*, pp. IV.

was a ruler of great influence and importance at the time. And this Jayadēva had in his turn married the daughter of the ruler of the East, Haraha by name, who came of the race of Bhagadatta, which means that he came of the royal family of Assam, and exercised authority over the kingdoms of Kāmarūpa, Puṇḍra, Oḍra, and Kalinga; in other words, all the east and south including within it Assam, Bengal, Orissa, and Kalinga.¹ What was left between the eastern ruler, and the extended Kashmir of the days of Durlabha, must have been included in the territory of Yaśovarman. That this was so is borne out to some extent by the Prakrit poem Gaṇḍavaho by one of the court poets of Yaśovarman, Vāḍḍatīrāja. The poem has for its subject matter the killing of a King of Bengal. The hero was no other than Yaśovarman. In the course of this narrative it makes much of the conquest of a Magadha ruler by Yaśovarman. So the two cardinal achievements of Yaśovarman are the conquest of Magadha, and the defeat which ended in the death of the ruler of Bengal. The latest date that we have for Yaśovarman is a reference in the *Triśaṅgaśaṭṭhaṇḍī*, which gives the date An. Vik. 800 to 893 (A. D. 743-838) for Jaina Āchārya Nappabhaṭṭi who came in contact with Yaśovarman, and Vāḍḍatīrāja. The Jain account describes Yaśovarman as of Maurya descent, and describes Vāḍḍatīrāja as a Paramāra I; it is not impossible that Yaśovarman continued to be ruler till about A.D. 744, possibly some years later. The war, therefore, between Muṅghala and Yaśovarman might have actually taken place after this date. We may, therefore, tentatively take it that the war did take place in A.D. 745 and as a result of the war, the Central Indian power went out of existence, involving as a consequence the non-existence of anything like a central government claiming suzerain authority, and guaranteeing, to some extent, internal peace and providing the only efficient means of defence against external dangers.²

The middle of the eighth century, it must be remembered, was a period when the security of the Indian frontiers was very much shaken by the advance of the Arabs on the one side, and by the aggressive conquests of the Tibetans on the other. The Tibetan danger seems to have passed off without harm to India, probably

¹ *Jainian Anthology*, II, 120 ff.

² For fuller information, see *J. Dent*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1887; my article on *Nappabhaṭṭīśāstrī* and the Gurjara Empire.

because of the rising power of China under the great rulers of the T'ang line. But the danger of the north-west frontier from the Arabs proved to be far more real, and after the fall of the Persian Empire, the Arab expansion seems to have taken the form of advance on two lines. The landward expansion took the time-honoured route towards Kabul and the north-west, against the Turkish tribes of the borders of the steppes. The southward expansion seems to have advanced through Kandahar and Balochistan to the frontiers of Sindh by land, and from the ports of the Indus Delta from the sea. The Arabs had already effected a foothold in Sindh as early as A.D. 713 and time, together with their activities in the region round Kabul, must have been the direct cause of the embassy that Chandrāpīṭha of Kashmir sent to the T'ang monarch of China, Hsien Tsung, his contemporary. The period, therefore, was one that called for the active vigilance of the Indian states and it is on emergencies like these that occasion is found for the formation of empires. Four powers stood forth to essay this, after Yasovarman was put out of the way, and all the four of them happened to be, from the point of view of Hindustan and north-western frontier, frontier powers more or less. The chance of an imperial central position lay before that one among the four which could make itself master of the central region, the Maḍhyadīpa of the Buddhists or the Magadha Empire under the Guptas. The first effort was made by Kashmir to exercise this authority over the central region, and it was only when Kashmir failed for reasons peculiar to her own history that the triangular equipolse rose among the rising powers, of the Gūḍjaras of Bāḥmāl, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed, and the Pāṇas of Beṅgal. The century therefore from A.D. 730 to 850 is a century of this transformation, and we shall take up that tale.

Kashmir, the paradise of the Mūhūmmadan emperors of India, lay to a very great extent outside the current of Indian History, because of its geographical seclusion for one reason. But notwithstanding this geographical fact, she did not remain in that isolation in all probability which, absence of really historical information, makes us ascribe to her history. Even so it has been brought into touch with the main current of Indian History in certain periods whenever the centre of gravity of the empire was near enough to her borders. Kashmir seems to have formed an integral portion of the Kushan Empire, and of the Asokas, if Buddhist tradition is to be believed.

It is not clear that she formed any part of the empire of the Guptas. But it had been brought into the main stream of Indian History with the invasion of the Huns, and the doings of Mihiragula. She does not appear to have played much of a part in the imperial organisation of the age of Harsha proper, although it was in the reign of Harsha that she first extended her authority over the borders to take in subordination as feudatories three or four of the kingdoms of the plains according to the account of Hsien Tsang. It has already been pointed out that the Kashmir contemporary of Hsien Tsang, and therefore, of the Emperor Harsha, was no other than Durlabha, the grandfather of Muktīpāda. It was probably in his reign the expansion actually took place, and the two reigns following do not seem to be of much importance in the career of expansion of Kashmir. It was with the accession to the throne of Kashmir of Muktīpāda that the foreign relations of Kashmir took form. It was already pointed out that Chandrīpāda, his elder brother, had to send an embassy to China, soliciting imperial assistance against the Arabs. That could mean no more than that the pressure of the Arabs was real on one side of the frontier. That an embassy should have gone to China in A.D. 713, the year in which the Arabs first effected a foothold in Sindh makes the connection between the one and the other indubitable. The short reign of Tārūpāda could do nothing, if Tārūpāda was hardly worthy of his position. But with the accession of Muktīpāda the call upon Kashmir became clear. Muktīpāda seems to have realised clearly the dangers surrounding him. The Arab trouble had passed owing to changing circumstances at the Arab head-quarters. But the real danger was from Tibet. Muktīpāda attempted an alliance with the central power, and the alliance apparently served well as against Tibet. For one reason or another which is not clear to us, this alliance could not hold together, and we see the allies going actually to war, resulting in the overthrow of the central Indian power. Muktīpāda, therefore, has to stand as champion not only for Kashmir, but for the whole of India—India north of the Vindhya. If, as Kalhana says, he went to war against Bengal, it was not probably as a knight-errant seeking adventure, but as almost a necessary consequence of the conquest of Mid-India, which called for a settlement of the relations with the eastern frontier. That naturally would also have involved a war against Kalings, as at this time what

was known to the Hindu historians as Kalinga went as an appanage of the ruler of Bengal. These two, the invasion of Bengal and the invasion of Kalinga, may be regarded as historical incidents in the conventional *dig-vijaya* that Kalinga ascribed to Lalitāditya Muktiśīla. Having settled these frontiers of his new responsibility on the east and south of his new conquests, he could return home as monarch of Kashmir and Emperor of India. He could turn his attention to the state of things across the mountains both on the side of Tibet and across the north-west in the territories still held by the Turkish tribes. That he undertook an invasion of these tribes, and, having gone too far into the desert regions, lost his life like a very hero of romance according to Kalinga, could only mean that he lost his life in an effort to subdue some of the troublesome tribes across the frontier, which took him to an unknown region and made him succumb to his thirst for war necessary though this war was. With his death Kashmir received a set-back in her imperial career. Muktiśīla could not have been the knight-errant that one would take him to be on a superficial reading of Kalinga. Though among his works of public utility, it is only temples, tanks and things of that kind that are ascribed to him, he must have been a capable monarch interested in the administration, and possessing the requisite amount of knowledge to transform that interest into channels of beneficent activity. He apparently undertook the reorganisation of the administration, perhaps to meet the extensive needs of an enlarged kingdom. The administration of a larger empire, and the carrying on of war which a career of aggression must have necessitated would have involved the reorganisation of the finances of the state. His financial administration must have been rigorous and even grasping, as Kalinga ascribes to him principles and maxims worthy of Alau-d-din, although it is put in a form much more in keeping with the character of a Hindu monarchy rather than in the gross form in which Alau-d-din is reported to have put it. The cultivator must be left enough to meet his needs adequately, but should not be left anything more to make his position attractive to the marauders from across the frontier. Lalitāditya Muktiśīla's was indeed a glorious reign from the point of view of Kashmir, but his efforts at realising an imperial ambition were too much for the role of Kashmir to play.

The period occupied by the new Magadhan Empire of Ādityasena and his successors down to the end of the reign of Yaśovarma of

Kanauj was occupied in Kashmir by the reigns of the first five rulers of the Kricotaka dynasty. Applying the correction of twenty-five years of antedating in Kalhana, which, on Chinese evidence, is proved very probable, the end of Lalitāditya Muktiṣṭha's reign comes to somewhere about A.D. 760. It was already pointed out that Yaśovarman's reign perhaps came to an end somewhat earlier possibly about the year A.D. 750. But he seems to have survived his defeat by Muktiṣṭha and continued substantially in power for some years longer. The end of his reign may be placed somewhere about A.D. 755,¹ so that the two great rulers may have passed out of Indian politics almost about the same time, and that is the middle of the eighth century. Lalitāditya's rule was followed by four reigns, namely, those of Kṛṣṇayāpīṭha and Vajraditya, his two sons, with a reign of one year and of seven years respectively; and again by those of Prithivīyāpīṭha and Saṅgrāmīyāpīṭha I with periods of four years and a month, and seven days respectively. This brings us to the period A.D. 770, or possibly A.D. 771, when the other great ruler Jayapīṭha came to the throne. Jayapīṭha's reign, according to Kalhana, covered thirty-one years, which would mean that he ruled through the rest of the century. Jayapīṭha's reign is of importance for our purposes, as it brings him into touch with the rulers of Kanauj, Central India and Nepal. Whatever be the truth regarding the kings actually mentioned by name, the details given by Kalhana regarding Jayapīṭha's history, give us an idea of the condition of affairs in Northern India, and to that extent, at any rate, Kalhana's account of Jayapīṭha is of very great value to the historian.

Jayapīṭha came to the throne after a decade of weak rule of four successive rulers, the successors of Lalitāditya Muktiṣṭha. After some years devoted to introducing order in the administration of Kashmir and otherwise putting his own affairs in order, he felt called upon to imitate the exploits of his predecessor, the great Muktiṣṭha, and started on a *dig-vijaya*, as the chronicler has called it. The first expedition took him to the kingdom of Gauda and to an attack on Puṇḍravardhana, 'a city at that time under the rule of the kings of Gauda and protected by a king called Jaysena.' We are told that in that city, he had a love adventure with one of the courtisans, by name

¹ According to *Buddhacharita* in *Pratibodhacharita*, vide J. Asch. Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1917.

Kumala, with whom he happened to be living for some time. He had occasion to perform a feat of killing a lion single handed which attracted the attention of the king, who found means to discover the real character of Jayāpīḍa. As a result he gave his daughter Kalyāṇa-dēvi to Jayāpīḍa in marriage.

Soon after he had an opportunity of rendering service to his father-in-law by killing the five Gauḍa chiefs and making his father-in-law sole sovereign of Guṇḍa. That perhaps means that Bengal was distracted by anarchy at the time and was divided among five separate rulers, and Jayāpīḍa assisted to bring them back to union and loyalty to a single ruler in the person of Jayanta. Having done this, he set out on the advice of his minister Dvāśarmā, the son of Mitrāsarmā, who was the foreign minister under Muṭtipīḍa, to return to his own country. On the way he defeated the Rāja of Kāṇyakubja¹ (Kannauj) in battle and carried off the throne of the monarch with him. During his absence his throne in Kaabur was occupied by a usurper, his own brother-in-law, Jajjuga by name. After putting down the usurper by a victory on the field of battle, Jayāpīḍa settled down to introducing order in the administration after the usurpation, and found time to construct temples for religion and extend his patronage for learning. One great act of his in regard to the latter particular was that seeing that the study of the *Aśāśāśāstra* had been interrupted in the state, he imported a number of pundits expert in the subject and reconstituted the learning of the great work, thus promoting the study of the science of grammar. He himself underwent a course in grammatical science under a teacher by name Kālira, who may be the same as Kāliravīra, the commentator of *Amaraśāstra*. He was known among the learned as Paṇḍit Jayāpīḍa. He looked for promoting learning and learned men, and in his court flourished such great men of learning as Bhaṭṭa Ubbhaṭa, who was his *śikṣasāli*, and Dāmodaragupta, the author of *Śikṣasāstra*. Vāmana was another great name, now identified with the author of the work *Kaṣya Śikṣakā Sāra*. There were besides the poets, Maṇḍaraka, Śaṅkhaḍanta, Chāpaka and Śākhimera. Having done these and other necessary acts to secure sound administration, he started on another great expedition of conquest. He advanced at the head of a large army on an expedition eastwards

¹ Taken to be Vajjīyūtha, ruler of Kannauj, mentioned by Hāraditya in his *Karphrasaṇḍarī*. V. A. Smith, *Early History*, p. 221, and f. n. 4 (2d edn.)

till he reached the eastern ocean, where his design was to attack the king of that region called Bhīmanāka. Wā have to take Bhīmanāka to have been the ruler of Assam and Bengal extending down to the sea. Here again the knight-errant got the better of him, and instead of taking the enemy at the head of his army, he assumed the disguise of an ascetic, and entered the fortress with a few friends, and was betrayed by a Kashmiri fugitive, a brother of the usurper Jaha, who happened to be there. He was thrown into prison. Feigning attack of a very contagious disease he was taken out of the kingdom and set free there, and thus he escaped. After some time apparently he found that the ruler of Nepal, Arasudī by name, was making efforts to get the better of him by diplomacy. Jayāpāda replied by actually invading his territory. The Nepal ruler retired before him till he encamped himself on the bank of a stream near its junction with the sea, which could only mean one of the innumerable mouths of the Ganges. Seeing the enemy's army arrayed on the other bank of the river, Jayāpāda thoughtlessly ordered the crossing of the river, at the time of the tide. When the whole of the army was thus entangled in the flood-tide, the enemy managed to take Jayāpāda prisoner. He was immured in a stone-built castle on the banks of the River Kālagandhā, in all probability the Kāl-Gandakī, the two names of the Saraya combined. It looked as though there was no chance of effecting his escape when the Brahman minister Mitrakarma came to his rescue. Collecting the remnant of Jayāpāda's force and placing them on the other side of the river, Dīvakarma went to the King of Nepal and, pretending to be anxious to betray his master, obtained his permission to interview his own sovereign to find out where he had hidden the treasure. In the course of the interview, he devised means of escape for the king by suggesting that he might drop from the high-walled battlements of the castle into the stream and cross it by means of a boat, which was to be his own dead body, as it would not burst like an inflated skin. Without telling the king about this latter part of the device, he wrote it on a slip of paper and committed suicide with the letter between his teeth. When the king saw it, he understood what was meant and used the dead body of his minister as directed therein. Thus escaping from this difficulty, he retired to his own territory of Kashmir. He undertook an invasion of the land of the Anasuya (*Sirafya*) and returned victorious,

After this he did not go upon any more wars, but conducted the administration with great oppression and cruelty, as the chronicler reports. Notwithstanding his learning and previous good administration, he degenerated into a cruel tyrant and met with an unworthy end for a monarch of his character. His oppression of the Brahmins produced a reaction. Jayapala is said to have died as a result of the anger of a Brahmin, killed by name.

From this account of Jayapala's reign as given by Kalhana, we can draw the following inferences as regard to the general condition of India. Kashmir was separated from the territory of Nepal by the River Kish-Ganga. Even now the Kish River is the western boundary of Nepal. In the earlier part of his reign, his Bengal contemporary seems to have been his father-in-law Jayanta, preceded by an anarchy, which showed Bengal divided among the five chiefs. The kingdom of Kanauj still retained some of its power and perhaps Jayapala's defeat gave the last blow to the tottering kingdom. The farther east was perhaps in possession of Bismahna, who probably was a successor of Harsha, the ruler of Assam, Bengal, Orissa and Kalinga about ten years before. Stripped of all romance therefore, we find the eastern kingdom still retaining some power, while the kingdom of Gauda or Bengal seems to have been overwhelmed in the course of his reign by the Nepal ruler. It is probably this Nepalese invasion which brought about anarchy in Bengal which was the occasion for the people to elect a new sovereign. What exactly brought about the retreat of Nepal within its own borders, we are not enabled to understand. Jayapala was perhaps responsible for ultimately bringing about the end of the kingdom of Kanauj. Thus Bengal reduced to anarchy, Kanauj becoming a ready prey to whoever was able to take possession of it, the theatre was ready for the struggling powers on the more distant borders to fight for the imperial position.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE

- A.D. 712 Chandrapala, Taba-to-lo-pi-li of Kashmir applied for aid against the Arabs, to the Chinese Emperor (Hsuan Tsang, A.D. 12-708).
- A.D. 726. The Emperor granted Taba-to-lo-pi-li the title of king. Khoprod *Monner's voyage in the Arab*, vol. II, 275, etc. A. Reumont, *Nouve. Merveilles Arabes*, vol. I, p. 121, etc. Buhler, *Ind. Antiqu.*, vol. II, p. 126. Max Müller's *India, Geography*, and Reumont's *Merveilles*.
- ca. ca. 741, King of Kashmir, sent an embassy to the reign of Hsuan Tsang, (A.D. 712-708) and after the first Chinese expedition to Badkshan.

(Fulin) between the years 725-27, requesting a Chinese auxiliary force of 200,000 men against the Tibetans. He promised to find provision for this army and provide encampment for the army on the banks of the Vakar Lake (*Makipashu*). The embassy also reported that, in alliance with the king of Central India, he had blocked the five routes of Tibet,—Lavi and Chavannan, *J. Asiat.*, 1895, p. 251, in addition to references under item 1.

The embassy is dated in A.D. 723, for the additional information that the emperor received the embassy and recognised the king, but declined to enter into the alliance, see H. Cordier, *Histoire Générale De La Chine*, vol. 1, p. 463.

Alberuni's *Muttal* is obviously in reference to this and Du K'ang's *Meng-shi Pihua* probably has reference to him.

- A.D. 731 Suggested identity by Panthier of Ishaba-mo of Central India with Yashovarman who sent his minister Sang-po-to to the Chinese Court in 731.

- A.D. 744. (Smt. 833). Jain *Tīkagranthāvalīkāśā* mentions Yashvarman and his court poet Virkpatikja.

The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the 'Arthashastra'

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CHAPTER IV—(concluded)

DOUBLE POLITICS (*Dvandvabhāva*)

(*Ar. Śāstr.* viii 113, *Kāma.* xi, 23-6)

LET US NOW examine the third of the six methods, i.e. the double politics. The various schools do not agree on the significance of the term (*Dvandvabhāva*). One sees in it simply the attitude of 'duplicity,' the other understands thereby a condition implying peace with one party and war with the other. The second interpretation is that of Kautilya. Here are the principles which Kautilya gives at the end of the chapter. —

'The party with which one bargains and the party bargaining should determine at the very beginning the object of bargain and set about bargaining afterwards. That is the method which conduces to prosperity.' Thus it is pure bargaining. War and peace are considered solely from the point of view of profit. The greater or lesser profit depends on the relative importance of the diplomatic situation.

'If one seeks to preserve under his control a superior or inferior power under the pretext that the enemy should be attacked, or if one seeks to root out the ally after destroying the other enemy, or to win over a party of the army of the enemy by allowing it to cross over to the other party; in that case one should bargain for an exceptional profit. After bargaining, if one is capable of doing harm to the enemy, one should attack. Otherwise one should conclude an alliance or stop

and form alliance with the enemy who is to be attacked. Or finally one should offer an army full of traitors, malcontents and savage tribes.

This forms a good example of the very complicated recommendations of Kautilya.

Several of the hypothetical cases mentioned by Kautilya, giving certain directions, are obscure. The anomalies in the published text are no less formidable. We have to guess through most of the things. The following passages however furnish some consistent ideas on the double politics:—

‘If one finds he (the neighbour) will not attack me from behind, so he will not pursue the enemy, in case of famine he will organize my supplies of grains and provisions, he will extinguish the burning thorns in my way, he will hasten the construction of my fortifications, forests and passages with his army, he will arrest the enemy by creating inextinguishable embarrassments or by an entente; receiving his part of the booty, he will inspire confidence to the other enemies, in that case one shall have recourse to double politics, and endeavour to have from one of these neighbouring kings, an army in exchange for a treasury or a treasury in exchange for an army.’

Thus war or peace is only a question of bargaining.

THE WAR (VIGRAHA) IN ITS DIFFERENT ASPECTS

(Ar. Śas. vii. 103-12; cp. *Kam.* x. 27-31; xi. 1-10;

Mans. vii. 164-200)

After having examined three of the six methods separately Kautilya treats of others as simple modalities of the war. But this struggle is diplomatic and not an armed contact.

To the war proper, Kautilya devotes a separate section.¹ This section which would merit a special study should complete the researches of Oppert and Hopkins on the military art of the ancient Hindus. But we limit ourselves to aspects of diplomacy. In this respect, the peace (*Samana*) and the march (*Yana*) are indeed aspects of the war. That is why Kautilya treats them simultaneously. We shall pursue the same method.

Kautilya thinks that the object of the diplomatic war is to avoid war. On this point he is completely in accordance with the masters of

Ar. Śas. x. *Śāgyavalkya*, cp. *ŚBh.* xii. ch. 26 (20-22).

the schools of law,¹ who ordain that the war must be the last diplomatic means to be employed when all others have failed.²

Thus Kautilya is led to define several diplomatic situations such as the pause after the declaration of the war,³ etc. He has three forms of the pause,—not to stir (*sthitva*), to suspend hostilities (*dhava*), and to remain indifferent (*Upeksha*).

According to Kautilya 'if the conqueror and his enemy are incapable of mutual destruction and desire the entente, they must adopt the policy of equilibrium or pause after the declaration of war or after the conclusion of an entente.' Or if he finds—

'My ally and the friend of my ally have brave and loyal subjects, hostile to the enemy, the enemy behind and the ally of this enemy behind, I shall be capable of advancing by making the friend of my ally fight the ally of the enemy in the rear—then one should undertake an expedition by declaring war against the enemy in front.'

If he would again find—

'I am not capable of leading an expedition alone, nevertheless I am obliged to make one, one shall take to it after having concluded an alliance with the equal, inferior and superior powers, in certain cases bargaining with the definite portions of the spoils and in other cases with indefinite portions. If one cannot combine them all, he must demand of one of the powers, provisions for his army in exchange for a definite portion or better one must impress the advantages of a combined action.

'If the profit appears certain then the parts will be fixed beforehand. Otherwise the portions will depend on the actual profit.'

Considerations on surprise attacks on the enemy: cause of decline; greed, and dissatisfaction: combination and good management of the elements.⁴

In this chapter Kautilya is occupied with this question: 'Which of the two enemies should be attacked first, the weaker power humiliated

¹Cp. Manu vi. 107-8 and 108-9.

²Cp. Ar. Śāstr. vi. 100; Ar. Śāstr. vi. 101, ch. xviii. 25, ch. xiv. 1, ch. vii (23).

सपाकः सान्मर्त्यं योरो दण्डसन्धेयः ।

धर्म्यं प्रमुखः सिन्धेयः दण्डसन्मर्त्यसन्धेयः ।

y. i, 365.

³Ar. Śāstr. vi. 102-7, cp. Manu vi. 101 with Medhavi, Kaṭyāyana, etc.

⁴Ar. Śāstr. vi. 108-10.

in great misery or the stronger enemy which is a prey to less misery ?'

'He must attack the force which is known to be in great misery, for this is facile,' say the masters. 'No,' says Kaupalya 'one must attack the stronger enemy who suffers least misery ; even that light misery becomes great in case of attack.'

'It is true that misery augments in proportion to its greatness. But if one does not attack the enemy who is in less misery, he shall ally himself with the enemy attacked to provide against the misery, and then attack from behind.'

If one shall have to attack at a time two attackable powers which of the two shall one attack first ?

'He who is in great distress but upright or he who is in less distress but dishonest and whose subjects are discontented ?'

'One must attack the enemy whose subjects are discontented. If one attacks him who is in great difficulties but straightforward, his subjects would uphold him, whereas if one attacks him who is in less misery but whose conduct is less upright, his subjects will remain indifferent. The discontented subjects will overthrow a powerful king, consequently one must attack him whose subjects are disaffected.'¹

Here Kaupalya emphasises forcibly the effects of the moral weakness of a sovereign, and on that question he is of the same opinion as the masters of other schools. Likewise even in war it is the moral force which decides the final victory.

Towards the end he makes some profound observations on one's allies in conducting an expedition.

The allies who are not honest but who profess to be honest men, should be watched, from time to time until their dismissal from their suspected position, or their women should be kept as hostages.

'There is reason to fear the equals who attain their goal, for the equals who attain their aim change their attitude even towards the superiors.

'The prosperous allies are unworthy of confidence, for prosperity deludes the spirit. If they get a small portion of the booty of the superiors, the allies seem to be satisfied. If they have no share in the booty, they sit on the knees of their allies and plunder the spoils stealthily.

'When he has achieved his purpose, the chief (*śreṣṭha*) should dismiss all his allies in groups (*Saṃśreṣṭha*). He should rather live himself than seek to conquer others. That would be best for the circle of states.'

CONDUCT OF AN ATTACKABLE POWER (*Yatayyaṣṭhi*)

(A) *Śū* vii 114-5)

In this section, Kaṁalya describes diplomatic struggles between attacking powers and attackable powers, every one of them trying to obtain an advantage over the other.

If a power runs the risk of being assailed by two enemies at a time, and that it desires to accept or reject the conditions of an entente, in the first case, it must bargain with one of the two powers by offering it double profits. While thus bargaining it must fear on his losses, his expenses, and inconveniences due to changes of place. Once the treaty is concluded it must bind that power by self-interest. In the second case he must have it attacked by others and create dissensions.

In case of agency it must bargain with very little of profit, if it finds good deal of advantages for the future, it should bargain by sacrificing even a great profit for the present. In the same manner Kaṁalya indicates always his preference for the permanent gain, and he is eager to always prove the advantage one has in possessing a good ally.

Then he classifies the allies according to their qualities :—

- Those who commence feasible work (*Saṃśreṣṭha*).
- Those who commence work without hindrance (*Kṛtyaśreṣṭha*).
- Those who commence beneficial works (*Bharyāśreṣṭha*).
- Those who commence work to finish it faithfully (*Śāśvataśreṣṭha*).
- And those who possess loyal subjects (*Aśvataśreṣṭha*).

In case of rivalry, the acquisition of a strong and faithful ally decides the victory, for that reason the conqueror is always counselled to convert the intermediary and neutral powers into real allies.

Same as the ally, the army is also a decisive factor for victory. The armies are classified according to their qualities¹ :—

- (1) The permanent army (*Aśvata*).
- (2) The mercenary army (*Bharyā*).
- (3) The army of corporations (*Saṃśreṣṭha*).
- (4) The army of the ally (*Kṛtya*).

¹ Cp. *Maṇu* vii 118, Code : *Aṣṭa* vii, ch. vii 7, 8, 9.

(5) The army of savage tribes (*Aśwa*): well-informed of time and places.

(6) The army of hostile savage tribes inexperienced both in time and places.

In an entente whose one condition is the release of soldiers, one should attempt always to keep for himself the best soldiers and give to his rival the inferior ones. Also when following the diplomatic policy one is obliged to give away the best men of his army he is counselled to take it back on the earliest occasion under pretext of military manoeuvres (*Danda vyasanga*).

Thus we see that attack was a mere sham. Generally war was diplomatic and very frequently, it terminated in an entente obtained by ceding soldiers, money, or an ally. One calculates the profit before all. And one is fully aware that a war of total devastation becomes very rarely profitable.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ENEMY BEHIND

(op. Manu vii. 116). *Pariparyāyānta*,
Ar. Śa. vii. 117.

Leaving aside the attacking power and the attacked powers Kaṇva devotes his attention to the enemies in the rear, who play a sufficiently great rôle in diplomatic combinations. He weighs the advantages of kings who attack in the rear and compares them with the two kings who are before them. Here the moral considerations play a great part for bringing about success.

'Of the two kings who attempt respectively to ruin a friend and an enemy, he who attacks the rear of the king, seeking to uproot a friend surpasses the other, inasmuch as he serves his friend. He who wishes to ruin his enemy must rid himself of those who threaten him in the rear. Otherwise he ruins his own party.'

The advantage resulting from the attack of the rear changes according to the moral quality of the attacked enemies. Kaṇva gives them different names.

- (1) 'The enemy cutting his own root' (*Aśakara*).
 - (2) 'The temporary enemy, the decentralised enemy,' etc.
- The enemies in the rear are divided into three classes:—
- (I) He who is effectively opposing is called *Varga*.
 - (II) Those who are of both sides are *Syātanta*.

(iii) He who is placed between the conquering king and his enemy and who is weak, is called *Antardhi*.

The conquering king and the enemy try always to win over each to his own side the intermediary or the neutral king, even though the latter behaves like an enemy.¹ Kaṭilya gives out the reason

'Even an enemy when he can render service, is worth negotiating but not an ally who has no more amicable intentions.' When war becomes inevitable Kaṭilya advises the combatants to keep their presence of mind.

They must see the reality such as it is —

'More than the attack in the rear and in the front, the battle of intrigue (*Mandrayoddhi*) is advantageous.'²

Still, in case of necessity Kaṭilya prescribes the destruction of the enemy at any cost:—

'In an exhausting battle there is no success for both on account of losses and expenses.'

'The conqueror himself appears conquered, he has no more armies nor treasures' say the learned. 'No,' says Kaṭilya 'even in case of very great loss and equally great expenses, one must endeavour to destroy the enemy.'

He concludes the chapter with a few maxims in verse

'In this manner the conqueror must organize his circle for his advantage by enriching his friends and his elements both in front and behind.' In all his circle, he must always appoint messengers (*dats*)³ (*Datayoddhi*) and also spies (*grāha*).⁴ He must strike having kept his plan hidden.

'He who does not hide his plan, even if occasionally successful, is sure to perish as a ship springing a leak on sea.'

RECOVERING DEFEATED POWER (*Dhoshakti-prasava*).

Ar. Śū. vii. p. 112.⁵

In this section Kaṭilya discusses the conduct of a power which is in a critical situation. First of all this power must employ the means of conciliation and of division.

¹ Cp. *Ar. Śū.* p. 101, *Antaroddhi* and *Pras.*, ch. xiii.

² *Ar. Śū.* 112.

³ Cp. *Kau.* xviii. xiv. *Kau.* vii. 65-6.

⁴ Cp. *Ar. Śū.* vii (*Pradyotsanavarga*).

Sometimes it must pretend to be innocent and sometimes outraged to win over one of the enemies leagued against it.

'Just as I, poor and innocent, have been attacked by that coalition of powers, so you will be attacked by them whether in good or in dangerous conditions. For force always corrupts the spirit and becomes the cause of ruin.'

'When one can divide the allies, one must attack the weak after having won the chief or attack the chiefs after having consolidated the petty ones. Everywhere if one shall see an advantage, he must get them attacked by others and create a split, otherwise he should win over the chief by offering him prospects of great profits, and conclude an entente.'

But if one knows that the contractors of this entente are dishonest, one must break it up as soon as possible. In all these circumstances, the intermediaries who receive money from both sides (*Ukshapastana*) are very appreciated as much for the conclusion as for the rupture of an entente.

The method of conciliation is afterwards explained in detail. One should win him who gives energy to all his group by sacrificing himself; him who is resolute in action by showing humility and submission; him who has loyal subjects, by offering him a daughter in marriage or a subsidy; him who is greedy by offering him double profits; him who is afraid by giving him hostages; him who is bound by congruency to the king, by offering him an agreement; him who is allied to both parties, by acting in such a way as to please him and breaching him by surrendering to him some profits, and finally him whose hostility is not durable, by rendering friendly and profitable service to him.

Beside these defensive tactics, the weak power must labour to rebuild its own elements. At first it must be reinforced by the concourse of experienced men and by the utilisation of sciences and experts.

It must heap wealth over the improvement of the works of irrigation (*Saukhanda*,² which are the sources of agricultural wealth, of commercial parks (*Vipitpataka*), of economic prosperity, of mines, of materials of war, of forests, of parks for elephants and grounds for pastures, etc.

²Cp. *Sutra*, iv, 1.131-3

If some of these advantages are lacking, it must attempt to secure them from an ally. If it has a weak army, it must strengthen it by recruiting on the one hand soldiers from the corporations, from the bravest clans, from the bands of robbers and savage tribes, and on the other hand spies dangerous for the enemy.

In this way with parliaments (*Paṭas*), policy (*Matsya*), materials (*Dasya*) and so many (*Bala*) one must free himself from the dependence on the enemy (*Prasavagraha*).

Manner of deceiving the powerful enemy when one is attacked and of him who is defeated in battle (*Dandaprasavagraha*).

Ar. Śaṣ vii 115-20; *Śukra*. bk. 295, *Rajya* xvi 8.

A power placed in a dangerous situation must endeavour to ally with another, more strong or equal or even with one inferior but honest and enthusiastic. If allies are lacking one must support as a fortress of which even a powerful army, and the enemy would be unable to intercept the provisions, fodder, the combustible and water, and be forced on the contrary to incur losses and expenses in attempting to reduce the fortress.¹

Thus protected, one must win a power intermediary or neutral, or a relation of the enemy or one of the chiefs imprisoned by himself, or an ally capable of attacking the enemy in the rear, or even among the enemies themselves, those who can be seduced so as to raise a revolt in his kingdom, and finally to destroy by arms, fire, poison or other secret means.

But if these means appear impossible, one must, according to some, attempt to come out by abandoning the fortresses and fling oneself on the enemy as an insect on the flame, for, according to the savants, he who is prepared to sacrifice even his life, can attain success.

But Kaṇvaṇya pronounces against this desperate solution. He counsels rather the acceptance of a humiliating peace. The fitting attitude for him who is completely conquered in the war is to say :

'That kingdom and myself are at your disposition.'

After one has obtained an estate, one must maintain the attitude of one who respects the conventions. The works of fortifications, the import of products, the marriage, the commercial enterprises, the capture of elephants, the visits to the places of sacrifice (*Saṅga*), to places of

¹ Cp. *Śukra*. bk. 6 (37), *Arth.* vii 7 (4-8), *Matsya* vi. 126.

pilgrimage and amusements (*Vidhyagamana*) should be accomplished only after the authorisation has been solicited.

'In the same manner, one must demand the authorisation when one negotiates with an independent people or when annulling or evading an entente. Even if a good territory is offered he must not accept without permission.'

But under this mask of loyalty, one must always attempt to deceive the superior.

'In the absence of the master, he should visit secretly the minister, the high priest, the commander of the army or the heir-apparent, and one must endeavour to aid them as much as it lies in one's power. However while worshipping the gods or offering prayers, one must implore benedictions on his master and ever make a display of one's virtues of self-effacement.'

THE CIRCLE OF MEDIATORY POWERS (*Mahiyama*) AND NEUTRALS (*Uttama*)

(*Ar. Sha.* vii, pp. 194-5).

The diplomatic world of Kautilya has for its centre the conqueror and his enemy. Round them gravitate the circles of friends or foes and they form a sort of a political solar system. But that system is ever influenced by two other systems, that of the intermediary and that of the neutral who are studied at the end of the section.

Here again we find the same intrigues, the same efforts for winning over important allies, for ruining the elements of the enemy and for developing his own elements appearing as fundamental parts of diplomacy.

There is no difference between the case of the intermediary and that of the neutral. For a mediating king the third and fifth elements of states are the friendly elements while the fourth are enemies.

If these two series of elements are aided by the mediatory power the conqueror must come to agreement with him.

If the mediator helps nobody, then the conqueror must ally with the two elements. If the mediator seeks to win over an ally of the conqueror, the latter must defend his ally by protecting the allies of his ally, and dividing the allies of that mediator. Or he must excite the circle against him by saying :

'This mediator is become too powerful, and has grown only for our ruin. Let us ruin him by some combination.'

If this proposition is agreeable to the circle, he should reinforce himself by ruining the mediator. If not agreeable, one must seek to seduce the ally by soldiers and money and to win his cause by means of conciliation (*Sewa*), division (*Bheda*), punishment (*Danda*), gifts (*Dana*), and thus win over the chief or the neighbouring chiefs who are hostile to mediator or those who live by mutual support or prosper in a common success or who being afraid of one another, dare not declare war. In the same manner, by gaining a second chief he must double his strength and by gaining the third chief he must triple his strength. Once reinforced in this way he should turn against the mediator.

If the mediator seeks to gain the neutral, the conqueror must separate them and must ally with one who is in better terms with the circle. The same method must be practised if the neutral seeks to gain the mediator.

The possible friends of the conqueror are:—

- He who marches with him towards a different object.
- He who marches with him towards a common object.
- He who approaches with the intention of allying with him.
- He who desires to march as ally.
- He who marches, stimulated by his own interest.
- Those who rise together in rebellion.
- He who desires to buy or sell soldiers (arms?) or treasury.
- He who adopts a double policy.

Among all these the conqueror must help, with all his force him who has a common aim to combat the enemy.

If an ally attains great prosperity and becomes too independent, after having vanquished the enemy, he should be made to engage in a war with the elements of neighbouring states or to lose his territory, captured by one of the marchers of his family or by an imprisoned prince. Lastly he should act in such a way that he would remain submissive relying on his powers.

A politician must maintain his allies in a condition which is neither too high nor too low.

When an inconstant ally concludes a treaty for profit, the conqueror

¹ Cp. *Śāstra*, iv. 1, 25-27.

must seek to remove the causes of abandoning the same and prevent him from withdrawing from the alliance. . .

If an ally who is at the same time an ally of the enemy, is inclined decidedly on the side of the enemy, one must separate and destroy him and then destroy the enemy himself.

Kautilya concludes thus the chapter on diplomacy by two stanzas full of experience :—

'He who is an expert in politics must have recourse to one of the several diplomatic means,—advance, ruin, repose, harassing and destruction. In this way he who realises fully the interpretation of the sixfold method, plays as it were with kings who are caught in the net of diplomacy.'

CONDUCT OF HIM WHO IS VANQUISHED BY ARMS

(*Dandakavyayitam*)

(*Ar. Sm.* vii, p. 121, *Pippa* th. 47-8 and 53)

Whoever, be a king or a commander of the army, desires to conquer must possess all the diplomatic means.¹

By means of conciliation and presents, one must flatter the weak : by employing dissension and punishment, one must reduce the strong.²

The compulsory (*Niyoga*), the optional (*Vikalpa*) or the combined (*Samskaya*) use of the same process leads to the consolidation of the elements.³

'One should practise conciliation by promising protection of the villages, of forests, pasturages, and commercial routes, as well as by promising to re-establish those who have been expelled, who have run away, and who have done wrongs once to the conqueror.

'One must practise the method of presents by offering territories, materials, young girls and a general amnesty (*Atakaya*). One must take to the method of dissension by seducing the neighbouring chiefs, the chiefs of forests, the relatives of the enemy or imprisoned chiefs and by tying them to force the delivery of treasures, army and territories.

'One must practise the method of punishment by means of an open

¹ *Cp. Ar. Sm.* v. 1-2.

² *Cp. Dharm.* iv. 1, 22, 25-26.

³ *Cp. Manu* vii. 124-5, also *Arjuna*, xvii. 42-43.

battle, a treacherous or secret battle and by the assault of fortresses and thus capture the enemy.

The allies and the supporters are classed with care according to the advantages they offer.

He who procures various advantages (*Citrakbhaga*).

He who procures a great advantage (*Alakabhaga*).

He who procures all the advantages (*Sarvabhaga*).

He who procures only one advantage (*Ekabhaga*).

He who procures the advantages on both sides at the same time (*Ubhayaabhaga*).

He who procures advantage on all sides (*Sarvatabhaga*).

The conqueror must treat the different parties according to their intentions and their various capacities. He must be faithful to the faithful and offer protection to those who seek for it.

¹ During troubles, one must deal more kindly to those who return voluntarily. One must give audience on demand and one must repair the abuses.

² One must not pronounce words of humiliation, of menace, and of defamation. In promoting the sense of security one must conduct himself as a father. He who outrages the people must be executed publicly. For avoiding the suspicions of the enemy one must panic in secret. One must never covet the territories, property, children and women of an enemy killed. One must even restore his kinsmen to their respective places and one must reseat on the throne the son of the dead king. Thereby the conqueror would be obeyed from generation to generation.

Thus we see that conquest is not the last word in Kautilyan diplomacy. Loyal to the principles formulated at the commencement of his treatise, he discusses the problem of pacification of territories after conquest.

Thus *Lakṣa* (the acquisition) is followed by *Pratapa* (the protection). Here he is in complete accord with the masters of schools of diplomacy as we know, from all the commentators on Maurya vii, 30,—

नैः सर्वं विनायेद नित्यं साधनं परिनिवृत्तम् ।

एतत् समुदायं युक्तिं लब्धप्रसङ्गादिभिः ।

Medhātithi, the more ancient of all commentators on Maurya, cites the

¹ Cp. *Ar. Śāstr. n. n. v.*, *Khana, n. n. n. v.*, *Śaṅkara, iv. 7.*

entire the Kautilya, while other commentators follow the Kāmandaki which is simply the *Arthashastra* in verse. . .

Towards the end of his treatise¹ Kautilya devotes a special chapter entitled 'Pacification of conquered territories' (*Lakṣaṇapradarsana*).² This is a veritable document on the ethics of Hindu diplomacy. Kautilya evaluates and classifies the conquerors after the ideal of the acquisition of territories.³

The just conqueror (*Dharmarajya*)

The greedy conqueror (*Lakṣaṇarajya*)

The demonic conqueror (*Asurvarajya*).

The conqueror who is satisfied with simple obedience is called the just. The weak kings should seek his protection. The conqueror who is satisfied with the gain of territories and money is called the greedy. The weak kings should send him off by the gifts of robes.

The conqueror who is satisfied neither by the capture of lands and treasures, nor by that of sons and females of the conquered king is called the demonic. The weak kings should keep him at a distance by offering territories and money.

In this ethical conception, Kautilya is very far from Machiavelli with whom he has been compared in a superficial fashion. It is enough to cite his own words :—

'Having acquired a new territory, the just conqueror must cover the vices of the enemy with his own virtues and the virtues of the enemy by doubling his own. He must take care to satisfy his elements and do good to them by observance of his religious and secular duties,⁴ by recompenses, concessions, presents and by honours. He must keep words given to the partisans whom he has drawn from the enemy. He must give more to those who have already worked for him.

'He must adopt the same manner of living, the same customs, the same language and the same customs as those of the conquered people.⁵

'In the celebration of the special cult of that country⁶ in joining

¹ *Ar. Śāstr.* xii. 170

² *Cp. Ar. Śāstr.* vii, ch. 25, 26-27, *Māhātmya on Śāstr.* iv. 34; *Manu* vii. 201-2; *Hitop.* iii. 42-5, 55.

³ *Ar. Śāstr.* vii. 190; *cp. Ar. Śāstr.* vii, ch. 26, 26-8; *Śāstr.* iv. 42, *Gov.*

⁴ *Cp. Śāstr.* vii. 201, *Ar. Śāstr.* vii. 12-13.

⁵ *Cp. Ar. Śāstr.* i. 32.

⁶ *Cp. Śāstr.* iv. 22, 23, *Manu* i. 126, .

the congregations (*Samaj*) and the festivals (*Utsav*) and amusements (*Vihar*), he must follow the inclinations of the people. The spies should ever turn the attention of the chiefs of the village, of clans and of corporations to the misdoings of the vanquished enemy and on the contrary, to the advantages and the blessings due to the new master and to his good graces ever present.

¹ The conqueror must render his elements happy, by festivities (*Shrugs*), concessions (*Parahara*), protection and just volition. He must respect the gods and religious orders (*Adharma*). He must make gifts of lands and goods exempt from charges, to men of letters, orators, the saints and the heroes. He must show favours by releasing prisoners (*Brahmanasaktis*) by helping the unfortunate, the orphans and the sick. He must forbid the slaughter (*Aghata*) of animals for the half-month during which are celebrated the ceremonies of *Atiravaya*, for four nights during the full moon and for the night during which appears the star of the anniversary of the king or the star of the country. He must prohibit the killing of little girls and new-born babies (*Yousakishakha*), as well as castration (*Prastapagata*). In this manner he must establish the righteous customs (*Dharmavyavastha*) by abolishing customs which are unjust (*Adharma*) and destructive of the financial and the military power.² Towards the end of the chapter *Krutalya* promulgates very liberal principles which elevate his diplomacy far above the level of cruel and sordid intrigues.

² The just conduct (*Dharma*) practised or non-practised by others must be encouraged, the unjust conduct (*Adharma*) must not be encouraged, even if it is practised.³

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

THE diplomatic section of the *Arikhatika* presents a consistency which offers to its study a particular guarantee. We do not find the historical anomalies which disconcert us in the second book. Above all the exposition is more homogeneous than anywhere else. The order is perfectly logical, at least it becomes so if by a method justifiable in the case of a text known by a single manuscript of very ancient time,

¹ *Ar. Shr.*, pp. 488-30.

² Cp. *Madhukari* on *Manu* vii, 85,

we invert the order of some chapters.¹ First come the organs of the state and their sphere of action and next the six-fold method of action.² The following chapters from 117 to 121 treat of special cases (urgent measures, conduct of the vanquished, etc.) The rest³ is devoted to the expansion of diplomatic relations from narrow circles of immediate enemies to the more extended circles of intermediaries and neutrals.

For elucidating the intentions of Kautilya we have added to that *essence* some paragraphs which do not form part of the diplomatic section proper (viz. ch. 11). The so-called Hindu Machiavelli, though very independent in thought, is not acromoral. It is evident from passages as the following: "When the advantages procured by peace and war are equal one should prefer peace. Because in war are found exhaustion and expenditure, exile and sin (*śrapasāya*)". The war is considered here as by the masters of the schools of *Dharma*, as the last recourse. And when employed the conquest must immediately be followed by conciliation (*Lakṣya-pratimāna*). The victor who by a just use of conquest reconciles the generally conflicting demands of *Dharma*, *Aṛtha* and *Kāma*, is considered as having attained complete success *Sarvārtha-siddhi*.⁴

To whom should this doctrine, so coherent as a whole be attributed? Are we to follow tradition and recognise thither the hand of the minister of Chandragupta? In the enthusiasm of the discovery Mr. Shama Sastri believed the work in its entirety as having been written by Vishnugupta Chitakya, the chief minister of Chandragupta, towards 325 B.C. The opinion of Mr. Shama Sastri is sustained ardently by the great erudition of Mr. Jacobi who is carried away by the idea that we have in the treatise a capital monument of the state of civilisation of the fourth century before the Christian era. Following their steps many indologists have accepted without reserve that the treatise belongs entirely to the Mauryan epoch.

We owe a great deal to the two scholars who have thrown considerable light on several remarkable facts pertaining to the epoch and to the personality of Chitakya Kautilya. But on carefully examining the different parts of the text we are obliged to declare their hypothesis untenable. In the section dealing with diplomacy which we have

¹ V, p. 82.

² Ch. 64, 122, 123, 124.

³ Ch. 124-6.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.* ch. 24, 144-5, p. 202.

analysed, the diplomacy is not that of a centralised empire but rather that of a divided feodality, in which each chief is in perpetual conflict with his equals for a hegemony which in its turn crumbles down by causing a new series of wars.¹ This is the normal politics of an age of political atomism. It is just the contrary of the politics of a large empire. The diplomacy of Kaṇva may be anterior or posterior to that of the Mauryas and does not contain any unerring traces of the centralised imperialism of Chandragupta.

The second book which appears to reflect an alluring picture of such an empire contains unmistakable traces of later interpolation. Unfortunately the name of Chāṇakya-Kaṇva has so powerfully hypnotised the scholars that although some had studied this section in detail (see Mr. N. Law in the *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, 1934) one is ever ready to discover new data of the civilisation of the fourth century before the Christian era in that *Imperial Grantha* (as it has been called) of the Maurya Empire.² Mr. Hillebrandt for the first time pointed out the existence of a definite treatise and of a continuous tradition of a school of *Artha* and he affirms that the *Arthashastra* is the work of a school and not at all a manual written by an individual. To Mr. Hillebrandt go the honour and credit of having distinguished the personality of Chāṇakya-Kaṇva such as it appears in the drama of *Mudra Rāsaka* where he plays the chief rôle, of the school of profit (*Artha*) Kaṇva is not the only representative. Since then Hillebrandt has brought forward new arguments in favour of his theory in reply to Mr. Jacob.³

The science of *Artha* is very ancient. Certain of its parts as the science of Law are pre-Buddhist.⁴ But the book of this school discovered by Mr. Shama Sastri is not a homogeneous work, all entirely of one age. It carries in its different parts unmistakable marks of different epochs. As is the case in India, the manuals of this species do not represent the work of one person but a product of successive generations. For example, the original texts of medicine compiled by Agnirāṣa and Atri are modified and augmented by Caraka and Dīdhakala. The names of those who modified the texts are very rarely preserved. But even without having the names

¹ *See the Kaṇva-Śāstra and Purandara*, Brahm, 1908.

² *The Kaṇva, H.D.N.C.*, vol. 69, 1915.

³ *Phil. Stud. David Phil-Stud. Zeit.* 1931 & V. Artha.

of these authors the traces of modifications are clear in the principal works of every school. Moreover in a land like India the climate necessitates the frequent recopying of manuscripts and it is well known that these transcriptions are the occasion not only of alterations in the text, but of considerable additions sometimes. Such was the case in particular when late compilers intended to secure for their work the confidence and respect of the posterity under the cover of a great name. Thus even admitting that a greater part of the *Arthashastra* belongs to the genius of Kaṇva-ya-Chāpa-ya, it is not improbable that the work has been retouched from time to time.

Dr. J. Jolly¹ who has studied our text carefully had expressed himself against the view that ascribes the whole of the *Arthashastra* to the reign of Chandragupta. Dr. Jolly with the authority of a scholar versed in the literature of the two technical sciences, law and medicine, shows the existence of indisputable later additions relating to law and metallurgy considered as a branch of the science of medicine. The three successive chapters of the work of the *Arthashastra* relating to the exploitation of the mines and the manufacturers (ch. xii), the Superintendent of gold and the bureau of goldsmith (ch. xiii) and the duties of the king's goldsmith (ch. xiv) indicate the addition of later experiences to more ancient ones.² Here the conclusion of Dr. Jolly is corroborated by the studies by Prof. P. C. Roy on the history of Hindu chemistry (1914-1938). The more ancient works of Metallurgy (*Lakṣhasthra*) are attributed to *Patanjali* and to *Nāgārjuna*. Now both are surely posterior to Kaṇva-ya. But this science as it appears in the *Arthashastra* seems to be more recent, especially because of the frequent use of mercury (*Rasapāṭha*, *Rasavyūha*).

In examining the legal portion of the *Arthashastra* Dr. Jolly speaks³ with greater force still that 'if the work is considered as having been written three centuries before Christ with all its legal parts (*Dharmaśāstras*) all the accepted chronology of the school of Hindu Law collapses as a house of cards.' This idea is supported by the conclusions of Mr. Hopkins towards the end of his study on the 'Growth of Law and Legal Institutions'.⁴ Finally very recently Mr. Otto Stain

¹ *Ergebnisse aus Kantons Arthashastra*, Z. D. M. G., 1914-15; *Text Arthashastra*, *Ergebnisse aus Kantons Arthashastra*, Z. D. M. G., 1915-17.

² *Zur Dharmaśāstra*, *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1905.

³ *Ar. Sch. und Dharmaśāstra*, Z. D. M. G. 1915 and *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1915.

⁴ *C. H. L.*, vol. I, ch. xii, p. 294.

discovered¹ that the pieces of evidence furnished by Megasthenes contradict those of the *Arthashastra*, so in reading the chapters relating to the horses and the royal elephants we shall see that to a solid fund of facts and ancient experiences have been added several later data. The *Arthashastra* describes not only of the horses of Sind but all those of Comboëlia and of Arabia (*Yamava*). But the most definite argument against the theory of M. Jacobi is furnished to us by the examination of the geographical data.² All serious historians will hesitate to regard it as written in the fourth century B.C., a work containing names as Harshma and Kapasa, Kambhoja and Aretta, Bahlila and Vadya, Tšurapeina and Pāṇḍya Kavita, Suvarakrodya, China and Nepala.

Most of these names appear in the chapters on the treasury and jewels of the king. Mr Pinot³ doubts the antiquity of these chapters, but Dr. Jacobi has striven to prove that the Hindus had already colonised Indo-China almost three centuries before our era. Finally according to Mr. Pelliot⁴ it is almost impossible to establish the existence of the name 'China' before the foundation of the dynasty of T'š'in (230 A.C.).

Consequently we must give up the idea that the *Arthashastra* came entirely out of the head of Kaṇva as Minerva from the head of Jupiter and that it had been written only for Chandragupta. On the other hand, we may consider our treatise as an inestimable encyclopædia of royal science and as a static symbol of the evolution of the Hindu spirit applied to the science of Government and of Wealth of which the *Arthashastra* is the most ancient and the most interesting document known till now.

It remains to explain why it is the only book and above all why it remained unknown until the period when Mr. Shama Sastri discovered it in a private library. How is it that despite the richness of the observation and experience and its practical utility for government, that the *Arthashastra* had completely disappeared. The explanation lies probably in the attitude of the Hindu mind towards *Artha*. The *Artha* is a positive science, comparable to medicine or alchemy. But it also touches the moral life of man. Now here the Hindu spirit is

¹ *Megasthenes and Kuntala*, Vienna, 1898.

² See App.

³ *J. E. F. E. O.*, 1887.

⁴ *J. E. F. E. O.*, iv, pp. 143-6, T. Ouag Fou, 1911-14.

prone to deviate from the Real and to launch into the Ideal. On the one hand brutality and cruelty of the Kārttyas which we have seen to be systematised by the schools have been strongly combated by Jainism and Buddhism, both opposed to violence. It is striking that so far as these schools preserve clear notions of political sciences they give them a new meaning.¹ It is thus that *Sarvārthasiddhi*² according to the Buddhist tradition is applied to Buddha himself by his father foretelling his future of glory. Even the term *Chakravartin* which rarely occurs in the treatise of Kautilya recalling notions of circles, signifies among the Buddhists and the Jains, the religious conqueror. In practice also such inter-relations are met with. Mr Jayasval has indicated that the spiritual organisation of the Buddhist community derived partly from lay organisations.³ In Brahmanical schools again the moral and abstract elements become stronger and stronger and reacted fatally on the *Arthashastra*. The transformation in this case was the prelude of its disappearance. While the positive scientific part shrinks the moral element gets the preponderance. And *Arthashastra* becoming devoid of originality thus came to be absorbed by other schools, e.g. Law and became finally merged into the Great Epics.

Towards the fourth century A.D. Kātyāyana gives an excellent poetical version of *Kautilya-Sūtras* but he passes over many characteristic elements. A century later Kālidāsa, who was a true genius not only in poetic sense but also for his knowledge of Hindu sciences⁴ knows the original treatise and reproduces even the expressions of the *Arthashastra*. But it would accentuate the moral note in giving a poetical outline of a good and bad king.⁵ His post-successors like Bhāṣṛavi in his *Arthāśāstramīmāṃsā* (l. 11), and Maṅha in his *Sūtrāṅga Vārtika* (16) and Khattī in his *Arthāśāstra* (21), transform the *Arthashastra* into moral text maxims which are no more science or art. Finally the famous author Baṇa who was at the court of King Harṣa in the seventh century, condemns the *Sūtras* of Kautilya as being uninteresting to the ears (*Marepāṇḍaka*) and rejects it. Also the *Artha*

¹ Vide Rupa Devide, *Polity*, Dr. 1931, p. V. Aitha.

² Op. *Buddhism*, II, 171, vol. 1.

³ Introduction to E. H. P. P. P., *Modern Studies*, July 1931.

⁴ Cf. Tucci, *Notes on the Sources of Kālidāsa's Aśvamedha* (*Journal of Oriental Studies* vol. 10).

⁵ Cf. F. P. P., *Introduction*.

which Thiruvalluvar presents in the Tamil poetic anthology of *Aṅkaḥ* is a moral text which has nothing common with the *Arthashastra* properly called, though it coincides with the hundred stanzas which are attributed to Chāṇakya (*Chanakyaśāstra*). Some commentators of the middle age as Mollāṭṭai and Mollāṭṭa continue to study the original text of the *Arthashastra*. But the Hindu spirit in general rejects that philosophy which it finds cruel. What is remarkable is that the first official and effective protest against the Kanjalyan rule came from Emperor Aśoka (273-232 B.C.) the grandson of Chandragupta.

¹ In conquering the territory which was not subject to me (*Aśvīṇa*) the murders, the deaths, the kidnapping of men which have taken place have been keenly and painfully felt by me, the king dear to the Devas.

² In effect the king dear to the Devas longs for the security of all creatures, the respect to life, peace and gentleness. Now it is these that the king dear to Devas contemplates as the conquest of religion (*Dharma* or *Ṛya*). It is in these conquests of religion that the king dear to the Devas finds his pleasure in his empire and on all his frontiers to an extent of many hundred Yojanas.³

⁴ All men are my children (*Sarvamanuṣa eva*). As I wish for my children that they must enjoy all sorts of prosperity and happiness in this world and in the other, I also desire the same for all men.⁵

The empire inherited by Aśoka was naturally an empire based on the Hindu science of the *Arth* and the *Aśv* as Mr. Bühler shows.⁶ But the transformation of Hindu politics by Aśoka is equally indisputable. Even when he employs technical terms relating to political science, he is careful to make a new application by the addition of the word *Dharma*. For example, *Rājya*, *Vijaya*, *Yatra*, *Saṁbhāṇika*, *Māṅgala*, *Mahameśva*, become with him as *Dharmarājya*, *Dha* *svā* *ṛya*, *Dharmayatra*, *Dharmasambhāṇika*, *Dharmamāṅgala* and *Dharmamahameśva*.

History will make clear if India had lost or gained in making this choice. But the fact is that it rejected mainly the path chalked out by Kanjalya-Chāṇakya to enter into that of *Dharmadeva*.

Vindhyavasin¹

BY

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ONE Vindhyavāsin is referred to and criticised by Vasubandhu (A.D. 280-360) in his now lost work *Parasūrahasthāna*. Paramārtha (480-560) in his *Life of Vasubandhu*,² Kumārla (690-800) in his *Śālistambasūtra*,³ Śāntarakṣita⁴ (705-782) in his *Tattvasaṃgraha*, Kamalasila⁵ (cir. 782) in his commentary of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, Hui-shue-tsü-tsi II⁶ (cir. 779) in his *Saśivastārasaṃgraha*, Vilāspati Mīra⁷ (cir. 841) in his *Bhāṣaṇī*, Hsueh⁸ (tenth century) in his *Rajamāraṇḍa*, Guṇaratnasūtri⁹ (cir. V. B. 1400) in his *Śaṅkarabhasyaśaṅkarasūtrīya*, and probably by many others.

We come across the name of Vindhyavāsin but we know but little about him. The Jains mention him as one of the authorities on Śākhya; Kumārla respectfully refers to his views, showing at once that Vindhyavāsin was no ordinary scholar. Śāntarakṣita, the famous Buddhist philosopher, in the beginning of the eighth century, refers to and criticises his views in several instances in his *Tattvasaṃgraha*. Paramārtha¹⁰ the Buddhist scholar, who went to China in the beginning of the sixth century, describes in his *Life of Vasubandhu* that Vindhyavāsin defeated Buddhakṛta, the Guru of Vasubandhu in argument and obtained a reward of three lac of gold. Vasubandhu at this

¹ Read before the fourth Oriental Conference at Allahabad.

² Paramārtha's account was probably based on an earlier work namely the *Life of Vasubandhu* of Kumārla which was translated by him in about A.D. 490.

³ *Śālistambasūtra*, p. 535.

⁴ *Tattvasaṃgraha*, p. 423. This work is to be published in about a month's time as Nos. xxx and xxxi in the *Calcutta's Oriental Series* (Since published No.)

⁵ *Tattvasaṃgrahapāṭiśāhi*, p. 524.

⁶ *Saśivastārasaṃgraha*, p. 166.

⁷ *Bhāṣaṇī*, fr. 14, li 22. Here one Vīṇagayya is mentioned. If he does not represent Vīṇagayya the Guru of Vindhyavāsin, Vīṇagayya will represent a disciple of Vīṇagayya who may very conceivably be Vindhyavāsin. But for the present this point is controversial.

⁸ *Rajamāraṇḍa*, 4th path, verse 22. Dr. Das Gupta is inclined to place the author in the same period.

⁹ *Śaṅkarabhasyaśaṅkarasūtrīya*, p. 104.

¹⁰ Dr. J. Takakura, *A Study of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu* in *J.E.A.S.*, 1906, p. 47 E.

discomfiture of his *Guru* composed the *Parvasa (hasaptati)* in opposition to the new Sāṅkhya doctrines taught by Vindhyavāsin, and criticised him mercilessly. From these facts we can easily conclude that Vindhyavāsin was one of the earliest authorities on Sāṅkhya, and an outstanding literary figure in his own days, and many centuries afterwards.

VINDHYAVASIN AND ĪVARAKṚṢṢA

Like many other ancient authors Vindhyavāsin also passed through many changes of fortune, at the hands of scientific research workers. Some Japanese scholar acting on Chinese authority identified Vindhyavāsin with Īvarakṛṣṣa,¹ and he was congratulated² on this sensational identification by many eminent scholars, and a large section of students still believe in this identification.³ But from what we will show later on scholars will be able to judge whether this identification is a myth or a solid fact. The certainty or uncertainty of this identification could not have been determined in the absence of any work of Īvarakṛṣṣa, but we are fortunate enough to find that the latter's views are recorded in his well-known *Saṅkhyasūtra*. Now, if the views of Vindhyavāsin which we have so far been able to obtain concur with the views expressed in the *Saṅkhyasūtra* of Īvarakṛṣṣa, then we have not a word of objection against the identification proposed by the said Japanese scholar. Indeed it is quite true that we have not been able to ascertain all the tenets of Vindhyavāsin because no work of his is unfortunately extant. But from whatever we have been able to glean from stray references we can easily ascertain that they are all antagonistic to the views expressed by Īvarakṛṣṣa. For instance let us take the passage in Kumārla's *Śloka-sūtra*.⁴

Here we find that between death and the next birth no intermediate existence was admitted by Vindhyavāsin. This being the words of Kumārla we need not doubt that Vindhyavāsin was the pioneer propounder of this view. That being settled let us turn to the view of

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 42.

² See for instance, *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 202.

³ None of the Indian scholars however shared in this opinion. Drs. Radhakar and Deshpande challenged this identification. See *Radhakar Commemorative Volume*, p. 176 and *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. I, p. 225, note 2.

⁴ p. 704.

कर्मव्यवहारो विनिर्णीतः ।

Īśvarakṛṣṇa on this point. Īśvarakṛṣṇa devotes three full Kārikās¹ to establish the existence of a subtle body between death and the next birth. Now this is a point of vital difference between the respective views of Īśvarakṛṣṇa and Viśiṣṭyavāīn. Can we say even now that these two authors were identical? And why in a book of seventy-two stanzas giving the outline of the whole system of Śāhikhyā philosophy does Īśvarakṛṣṇa devote three stanzas on this a rather minor point? Is he indirectly refuting the views of Viśiṣṭyavāīn? Of course Īśvarakṛṣṇa cannot mention his name in his book nor bring in much discussion as his is professedly a work devoid of controversial matters, but probably he did not in a refutation because he had to represent the orthodox Śāhikhyā views of the *Saṃśāstra*,² and Viśiṣṭyavāīn being an outstanding Śāhikhyā authority he could not but take some pains in establishing his point.

If this is not sufficient to explode the favourite identification of Viśiṣṭyavāīn with Īśvarakṛṣṇa, let us take another example where both these authors had expressed different views. We find in Kumārila's *Ślokaśarīrī*³ विशेकहृदयेऽहं निवर्तितं निष्कामादिना 'Viśiṣṭyavāīn has written that this is an example of inference of the variety of "particularly one."⁴

This shows that Viśiṣṭyavāīn only admitted two kinds of inference विशेकहृदय and सुमान्यहृदय. But when we refer to *Śāhikhyāśarīrī* we find विशिष्यकसुमानहृदय⁵ which is explained by Mādhava⁶ (cir. 500) as पूर्वक, शेकहृदय and सान्मान्यहृदय हृदय. Now here also we find the views of Viśiṣṭyavāīn and Īśvarakṛṣṇa do not concur.

¹ *Śāhikhyāśarīrī*, Nos. 30-41.

² Cf. *ibid.*, No. 78.

सुमान्यं किञ्च शेकहृदयेऽहोः कृत्वात्य वदितमन्यहृदय ।

आख्यायिकाभिहितः पञ्चादशविनिश्चयः ।

³ p. 325, also in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, p. 422. The commentary entitled *Viśiṣṭyavāīn* on the *Ślokaśarīrī* at this point is :

विशेषकसुमानहृदय इह विशेकहृदयेऽहोऽपि निवर्तितं निवर्तितं नुक्तमेव तद्विनिश्चयः
आख्यायिकाभिहितः निवेद्येति ।

⁴ *Śāhikhyāśarīrī*, No. 4.

⁵ *Mādhavayāīn* (Chowkhamba Edition), p. 25.

Let us take a third example. Śāntarakṣita says निष्कवाक्षिणं¹ with reference to sound. According to Vindhyavāsin then the sound has the sameness of form. But what is the opinion of Īśvarakṛpa on this point? It does not take much time to discover that because *Prakṛti* is endowed with the three qualities *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, the sound also like all other manifestations of *Prakṛti* is also endowed with the three qualities, and this is exactly what Śāntarakṣita says² is the orthodox Śāṅkhya view. So here also there is no correspondence between the views of Vindhyavāsin and Īśvarakṛpa.

Fortunately for us another opinion of Vindhyavāsin is recorded in Jain literature, on the interesting question of the *dhya* or the enjoyment of *Parupa*. In Haribhadraśāstri's *Śāntaraktasamuccaya*³ two quotations appear, one from Āmri and the other from Vindhyavāsin. The same idea is echoed in Guṇaratnasūri's *Saṅgharājanasamuccaya-Āmri*⁴. The opinion of Āmri is that the enjoyment of *Parupa* is nothing but the reflection of *Parupa* in the *Buddhi*, like the reflection of the moon in clear water. This is of course the view of the orthodox Śāṅkhya school. Let us now see what Vindhyavāsin's view is. He held that in the *Buddhi's* own reflection in the *Parupa* consists his enjoyment just as a crystal changes colour when it comes in contact with the red *Japa* flower. Īśvarakṛpa undoubtedly belongs to the orthodox Śāṅkhya school, and because Vindhyavāsin's opinions are diametrically

¹ *Pratyaṅgīkṛta*, p. 685.

² *Op. cit.* p. 685.

यत्तद्व्यक्तम्। सत्त्वाभावविशेषः साक्षीनिष्ठः सत्यः ।

³ 109 a and b— तथा चाक्षुर्गैः—

विश्लिष्टे द्रव्यविण्णौ बुद्धौ योगोऽस्य सम्बन्धे ।

प्रतिबिम्बोदयः सन्धौ यत्तद्व्यक्तमस्मिन् ।

निष्कवाक्षिणोऽयं योगव्यवहारे—

पुरुषोऽभिज्ञात्यैव साक्षिणीसत्त्वैकतम् ।

स्वाः करोति साक्षिण्यानुपाधिः स्वच्छिन्नं यथा ।

In the *Śāntaraktasamuccaya* the same idea is expressed in another form, e.g.

करोति साक्षिण्येन निष्कवाक्षिणोऽयं यत्तद्व्यक्तमेव पुरुषसत्त्वैकतम् । १०. २३.

opposed to orthodox views the identification of Vinḍhyavāsin with Īśvarakṛpṣa is certainly untenable. Some more known facts as well as Indian tradition preclude us from subscribing to this identification. For instance Kamalaśīla, quoting probably from the *Paramārthasaṃgraha* of Vasubandhu gives us the valuable information that Vinḍhyavāsin was known by the name of Radhā.¹ Further Kamalaśīla has always differentiated between Vinḍhyavāsin and Īśvarakṛpṣa by mentioning their names and views separately.² Similarly, Guṇaratna also while enumerating the Sāhitya representatives mentions the two names separately.³ He also probably all other Indian scholars who had occasion to refer to the views of both Vinḍhyavāsin and Īśvarakṛpṣa. Had the two names been identical the Indian scholars would not have failed to mention the fact. This is in fact an additional argument against the identification referred to above.

Probably it will not be fair to return to our subject before replying to the arguments offered by the said Japanese scholar, in favour of this identification. In the *Life of Vasubandhu* by Paramārtha it is mentioned that Vinḍhyavāsin, a Sāhitya teacher and a contemporary of the Gupta King Bhāṣḍitya defeated Vasubandhu's Guru Buddhamitra in a discussion, and obtained from the king a reward of three laas of gold. One hundred and fifty years later another laas reliable Chinese account makes a pupil of Viśvagṛhya, the author of a work called *Himvasaṃgraha*.⁴ Now at this time the *Golden Society* of the Chinese is a by-name for the *Saṃskṛtaśāstra* of Īśvarakṛpṣa. Because two authors are found for one work the conclusion is inevitable that the two names represent one and the same person.

The argument looks very probable and possibly convincing, but now we can detect a number of flaws in the argument. Let us not dispute the fact that Vinḍhyavāsin obtained from Bhāṣḍitya or Vikramāditya a reward of three laas of gold. Nor need we dispute the statement of the later Chinese authority that a pupil of Viśvagṛhya

¹ *Paramārthasaṃgraha*, p. 28.

वदता रश्मिर्गोम कृपासि विष्णुवाहिना ।

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 17, 22, 228.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 168, 204.

⁴ Dr. J. Takakura : *Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu*, in *J.E.A.S.*, 1934, p. 47 ff. See also Dr. Devalakar, *Abhidharmaśāstra* and the Date of *Himvasaṃgraha* in the *Abhidharma Commemorative Volume*, p. 128.

(Vindhyavāsin) wrote a work entitled the *Hiranyasūptati*. It is quite likely that Vindhyavāsin wrote some such work, as stray quotations are found therefrom in very reliable and authoritative compositions of later times.¹ Kumārila also lends support to this view.² One of the works of Vindhyavāsin on Śāhikya tantra may quite conceivably be called *Hiranyasūptati* because the author obtained gold probably by its composition. But when this work is identified with the work of Iśvarakṛpṇa or the *Golden Sundry* then the difficulty arises. The *Saṁskṛtasūptati* of Iśvarakṛpṇa is called *Golden Sundry* in Chinese, and *Golden Sundry* may stand for *Hiranyasūptati*. The *Golden Sundry* in Chinese is published, and on comparison we come to know that it represents nothing but the *Saṁskṛtasūptati* of Iśvarakṛpṇa. But where is the work of Vindhyavāsin? This connecting link seems to have been lost, which fact gives rise to a number of difficulties. First of all, why should Iśvarakṛpṇa's work be called *Hiranyasūptati* or *Golden Sundry* and on what authority? Iśvarakṛpṇa did not get a reward of gold but still his work is known as *Golden Sundry* in Chinese.³ Does this show that the Chinese tradition on this point at least is unreliable? The two titles *Hiranyasūptati* and *Saṁskṛtasūptati* though they seem to have been altogether distinct works were confounded by the Chinese tradition and the theory identifying Iśvarakṛpṇa with Vindhyavāsin being based on a traditional error completely loses its value. That the Chinese tradition is also capable of committing such errors becomes evident when it sacrifices the authorship of the *Paramarthaśāstra* of Vasubandhu to Paramārtha, thus confounding the title of a book and name of an author. It should also be pointed out here that all Indian authors who have referred to these two scholars by name have done so separately, and were unaware of this identification. The Japanese scholar who proposed this identification should do well to investigate into the cause which gave rise to the confusion of the two titles above referred, and discover the source of the mischief before trying to give a rude shock to the chronology of the Śāhikya System, which is fairly established by Indian Orientalists.

¹ See *supra*.

² Cf. *Śaṅkaravivṛti*, p. 265 and the *Tattvasaṁgraha*, p. 422 where Kumārila is quoted.

विशेषज्ञानेन विविधं निष्पद्यताम् ।

³ *J.N.A.S.*, 1946, pp. 47 ff.

VINDIKYAVASTIN = VYĀḌI

Attempts have also been made to identify Vyāḍi with Vindikyavastin¹ as several Sanskrit lexicographers² have done. Hemacandra,³ Kadava,⁴ and others have distinctly identified the two, and the editor of the *Mañjuśrī* in the Chowkhamba Series admits this as the most probable theory.⁵ But the idea can hardly stand. As Paramārtha tells us Vindikyavastin was a contemporary of the great Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu and his words being very probably based on the *Life of Vasubandhu* of Kumārajīva who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century have got greater authority than Hemacandra who belonged to a much later age, or Kadava who was still later. Vyāḍi was certainly earlier than Pañcīkai (second century A.C.) who was indebted to the *Saṅgha*⁶ composed by Vyāḍi; hence the identification of Vindikyavastin with Vyāḍi seems to be altogether absurd.⁷

VINDIKYAVASTIN-VASUBANDHU

Paramārtha⁸ supplies very important information about another Śāhikya teacher by name Vṛṣagana and designates Vindikyavastin as one of his direct disciples. Vasubandhu⁹ criticises a view which is said to be that of the followers of Vṛṣagana by which he probably meant Vindikyavastin and several of his compere. Vṛṣagana or Vṛṣagana was held in great reverence, as Vācspati Mīra in the

¹ *Mañjuśrī* (Chowkhamba Edition), Introduction, p. 2.

² See for instance *Trishodhaya*, I, 3, 24-5, —

अथ व्याधिर्विन्दको

³ *Mañjuśrī*, I, 3, 27, —

अथ व्याधिर्विन्दको

⁴ *Mañjuśrī* (being published in the *Central's Oriental Series*), p. 25, —

मोक्षार्थविरिन्दको व्याधिर्विन्दकोविवाहयति ।

⁵ Op. cit., Introduction, p. 2.

⁶ *Mañjuśrī*, I, 3, 26, and Commentary on vi. 3, 26.

⁷ Mr. Hansen found in a recent article pointed out that the lexicographers have wrongly applied the *vyāḍi* or *Vindikyavastin* or *Vindikyavastin* in *Vyāḍi*, but really speaking it should be applied to the grammatical Śāhikya. *Indian Linguistics*, 1920, p. 121.

⁸ *J.E.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 478.

⁹ *Mañjuśrī*, The Central Collection of Buddhist, p. 25.

ninth century refers to his opinion and calls him Śāgaveya.¹ But we cannot decide at the present time whether Vārāganyā represents a disciple of Vṛāgana or Vindhyavāsin, or whether Vārāganyā is another name of Vṛāgana, but I am inclined to take Vārāganyā and Vindhyavāsin as the names of one and the same person.

VINDHYAVASIN'S TIME

The date of Vindhyavāsin as will appear from the foregoing is necessarily dependent on the date of Vasubandhu. To discuss his date is to discuss the date of Vasubandhu, and this has been done by a number of excellent scholars. A complete review of all the theories may be obtained from V. A. Smith's masterly survey in his *E.H.L.*, third edition, pages 328 ff. Dr. J. Takakura, writing in 1905, attempted to prove that Vasubandhu flourished in a period between A.D. 420 and 500, and said that this date is not only probable but may be taken as certain. But the French scholar M. Peri challenged it, and proved that he must belong to A.D. 280-360. Vincent Smith showed a leaning towards this view. M. Stcherbatsky, the famous Russian scholar of Buddhism, writing in 1923 opines² that the date of the Chinese translations of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu which alone, if correct, would be sufficient evidence to assign them to the fourth century thus see that there are only two definite theories about the date of Vasubandhu, one placing him between A.D. 280-360 and another between 420-500. We shall here endeavour to show that the theory placing him between 420-500 is absurd; we are thus led more or less to accept the other theory, placing Vasubandhu in a period between A.D. 280-360. This stands the test of all arguments and does not run counter to any of the known facts about Vasubandhu and his contemporaries nor create a discrepancy in any other way.

The most important argument in favour of placing Vasubandhu between A.D. 420-500 seems to be that a contemporary of his Saṅghabhadra by name translated two works into Chinese in the year A.D. 468 and 492. These are the *Śālistambasūtra* of Buddhaghosa and the *Vibhāṣaśāstra*.³ Because Saṅghabhadra was living in the

¹ *Monist*, iv, 12.

दीपवर्णं ब्रह्मचरिणं एव भगवत् शार्ङ्गवेद्यः ।

² *C.*, p. 22.

³ *J.E.A.S.*, 1926, p. 51 and foot-note 2.

year A.D. 485 his contemporary Vasubandhu cannot be placed in the fourth century. This looks like a very formidable argument, but let us go into details and consult our available authorities.

Paramārtha¹ (498-506) informs us that Saṅghabhadra was invited by Vasurūpa from Tien chin in order to defeat Vasubandhu in a discussion. When he came to Ayodhyā he composed a treatise to explain the principles of the Vibhīṣā and another work to refute the *Abhidharmaśāstra* of Vasubandhu. After the completion of these two works Saṅghabhadra challenged Vasubandhu to a discussion which the latter refused to accept. This is the abridged information about Saṅghabhadra and Vasubandhu given by Dr. Takakura from Paramārtha's work.

Next to Paramārtha we get detailed information from Hsien Tsang² (600-694) about the intellectual duel between Saṅghabhadra and Vasubandhu, which appears to be more to the point and quite natural. He says in his *Treasure* that Saṅghabhadra, after perusing the *Abhidharmaśāstra* of Vasubandhu, was so much enraged that he devoted himself for twelve years to the most profound researches subsequently composing an elaborate refutation of Vasubandhu's views in his *Nyāyasmṛantī*. When it was ready he challenged Vasubandhu to a discussion. Vasubandhu tried to draw him to Magadha so that the discussion might take place before a company of learned men qualified to judge the respective merits of the two opponents. Saṅghabhadra was too old by that time and before this discussion took place died in a monastery at Matipura. Immediately before his death he sent all the MSS of his great work, accompanied with a letter to Vasubandhu requesting him not to destroy his composition.

This is all that we obtain of any value from H. Tsang about Saṅghabhadra. In this connection one fact should be remembered that this challenge was issued to Vasubandhu before Vasubandhu was converted to Asaṅga's Yogācāra, which event took place, according to Takakura, ten years before Vasubandhu's death; this appears also very reasonable because he composed a large number of Mahāyāna works, all written obviously after his conversion to Yogācāra.

According to the theory we are now examining, Vasubandhu was converted to Yogācāra in A.D. 480.³ Before this Saṅghabhadra

¹ *J.N.A.S.*, 1935, p. 45.

² *Ibid.*, 32-33-34, vol. 1, pp. 389 ff.

³ Takakura in *J.N.A.S.*, 1935, p. 41.

gave a challenge to Vasubandhu for a discussion.¹ But how many years before? Let us take the shortest possible limit, say one or two years. The date of this challenge may therefore be taken as A.D. 488. Now let us inquire the whereabouts of Saṅghabhadra. But lo! he is not in India, he has gone to China, and is found quietly translating Sanskrit books into Chinese. There must be something wrong here: the date of the challenge must be earlier. Let it be say A.D. 480. No earlier date is however possible because Saṅghabhadra must have departed to another world after the talk of the discussion is over. Can this date be pushed forward to say A.D. 500? That also does not seem to be possible. Vasubandhu will no longer be a Hinayānist, he is under this hypothesis required to live at least ten years after his conversion. Moreover Saṅghabhadra has to spend twelve years in writing his *Nyāyasaṁgrahaṇā*, before he gives out his challenge. Does this connection of Saṅghabhadra with Vasubandhu look like a myth because it does not stand the test of cold logic?

How then are we to solve this problem? That will depend on our settling another question, namely, 'Are the two Saṅghabhadras identical?' We will reply in the negative. There is no evidence to show that the same Saṅghabhadra who was a contemporary of Vasubandhu went to China to translate books into Chinese. Had it been so, we could reasonably expect this information from Hsiao Tsang. But his silence on this point compels us to postulate two Saṅghabhadras. From the account of Saṅghabhadra in Hsiao Tsang's *Treasures* it is quite clear that this Saṅghabhadra never went to China. Going to China to translate Sanskrit works into Chinese is a different line altogether. Those who went to China did not shine much in the literary activity of India and those who became very great in India by their outstanding literary achievements never cared to do translator's work in China. Moreover, accurate records of nearly all the principal translators from India were kept in Chinese, and had this Saṅghabhadra the author of the *Nyāyasaṁgrahaṇā* been identical with the translator Saṅghabhadra the Chinese records would not certainly have failed to show it.

From the above we can easily refute the theory that Vasubandhu flourished in the period between A.D. 480-500. This being refuted

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, p. 41. "This event was while Vasubandhu was still a Hinayānist and believed that Mahāyāna was not the Buddha's own teaching."—Tibetans.

we have no other alternative than to accept the other theory (placing him, a.d. 280-300) which we consider deserving of universal acceptance.

The date of Vasubandhu having been fixed, it is quite easy to work out the time of Viṇḍhyavāsin. Viṇḍhyavāsin died before Vasubandhu, who appears to have been in full vigour even then inasmuch as he still had energy left to ransack the Viṇḍhya regions where Viṇḍhyavāsin used to live, in his rage to combat and defeat the man who brought his master Buddhāmītra to shame.¹ Moreover, in his *Alidhārasaṅghe* Vasubandhu referred to the opinion of the followers of Vīraśaṅgaya among whom probably Viṇḍhyavāsin was also included.² With these facts in hand we can fix the time of Viṇḍhyavāsin by the following computation. Let us take Buddhāmītra as twenty years senior to Vasubandhu and fix his time as a.d. 260-320 and Viṇḍhyavāsin as ten years senior to Buddhāmītra and fixed his time as a.d. 280-330 with some degree of confidence.

VIṆḌHYAVASIN AND VASUBANDHU

The relations between Vasubandhu and Viṇḍhyavāsin, as can be gleaned from the account of Paramārtha, was not at all of a friendly nature. When Viṇḍhyavāsin obtained his triumph over Buddhāmītra the Guru of Vasubandhu, Vasubandhu was away from Ayodhyā where the discussion took place. Eventually Vasubandhu heard of this affair and came to learn that Viṇḍhyavāsin was dead. In his disappointment and rage he composed a work entitled *Paramarthaśaṅkṣā* in which he severely criticised.³ Viṇḍhyavāsin and the Sāṅkhya doctrine taught in his work which, as has been previously indicated, probably bore the title of *Śāraṅgashāṅkṣā*, and Paramārtha claims that this work of Vasubandhu was instrumental in totally destroying the Sāṅkhya theories. Unfortunately for us neither the *Paramarthaśaṅkṣā* nor *Śāraṅgashāṅkṣā* are now extant, but a striking stanza in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* quoted by Kaśmīraṣṭrī from some unknown work contains a polemic against Viṇḍhyavāsin where the latter in so many words is designated as a foeaster. This *Śloka* in our opinion seems to be the first and only quotation available from the seventy stanzas of the *Paramarthaśaṅkṣā*. The *Śloka* is :—

यदेव दधि लघुर्दं मासूरीरं लघुमिति च ।
कदाचिद्विज्ञेयं कदापि वा निष्प्रवृत्तम्

¹ *J.E.A.S.*, 1925, p. 47.

² *J.E.A.S.*, 1926, p. 47.

³ *Viṇḍhyavāsin* - op. cit., p. 88.

⁴ *Tattvasaṃgraha*, p. 79.

This *Śloka* is apparently the refutation of the cherished Śāṅkhya theory of *Satthya* or the theory of the 'existent effect in the cause' and of course Vindhyavāsin being one of the earliest Śāṅkhya writers, even earlier than Īvarakṛṣṇa, certainly believed in the *Satthyaśāstra*, which is perhaps one of the chief contributions made by the Śāṅkhya system. Moreover this stanza shows that Vindhyavāsin had another name, and he was known as Rudrā also. In the *Paramārthasūtra* Vindhyavāsin is the object of attack, and hence this argument upholding *Satthya* goes to him, and a refined abuse bestowed on Vindhyavāsin shows a stronger relation and a sense of personal injury that might have been perpetrated by the man who is made the object of the aforesaid attacks. Later scholars would describe *Satthya* quoting Īvarakṛṣṇa¹ rather than Vindhyavāsin because Īvarakṛṣṇa professed to represent the orthodox view of the *Śaṅkhācārya*, and because here it is otherwise, we can take it for certain that the stanza shown referred to really represents a quotation from the now lost work entitled the *Paramārthasūtra* of Vasubandhu.

VINDHYAVASIN AND ĪVARAKṚṢṆA

From the foregoing it will be apparent that among the two Śāṅkhya scholars Vindhyavāsin and Īvarakṛṣṇa, we are in favour of assigning to Vindhyavāsin an earlier period than that of Īvarakṛṣṇa. In order to strengthen this theory we shall here endeavour to state our reasons after having fixed A.D. 250-330 as the date of Vindhyavāsin. Īvarakṛṣṇa must have flourished before Paramārtha (A.D. 460-561) as his *Satthyaśāstra* was translated into Chinese by him. This work was accompanied with a commentary by an unknown author whom we can now identify with Mīthara. I have elsewhere² discussed his date and shown that the time of Mīthara cannot be later than circa A.D. 500. Thus Īvarakṛṣṇa will have to be pushed back by at least one generation or thirty years. By the discovery of the *Atyāśrayasūtra* of Dīnāga which is now being edited by the famous Orientalist Principal A. B. Dhruva for the *Goshwami's Oriental Series*, we have been able to discover

¹ See for instance the *Tattvasamgraha*, p. 131 where Karmānanda in stating the Śāṅkhya theory of *Satthya* quotes from Īvarakṛṣṇa's *Satthyaśāstra*.

सकलजगदुत्पत्त्युत्पत्त्यसर्वव्याप्तमात्मनः ।

सकलं सकलकर्मफलमात्मनोऽत्मनोऽर्थम् ॥

² Referenced to the *Tattvasamgraha*, vol. I (No. 100) in the *Goshwami's Oriental Series*, pp. 10-12.

that Dīṇāga criticised a view of Īśvarakṛpṣa as expressed by him in the *Saṃkhyasamhitā*.¹ Now Dīṇāga was a direct disciple of Vasubandhu whom we have placed in a period between A.D. 280-300. Dīṇāga was a Hinayānist but read both the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna literature under the preceptorship of Vasubandhu. Dīṇāga being a disciple of Vasubandhu should be a generation later, but the latest date of his birth, that we can assign to him would be about A.D. 340 and as he lived for seventy years, the year A.D. 410 will be the year of his death.

As Īśvarakṛpṣa is criticised by Dīṇāga A.D. 340-410 we may reasonably expect him to be earlier than Dīṇāga or else his contemporary. This idea is also strengthened by the fact that Dīṇāga is the first scholar to refute the views of Īśvarakṛpṣa. Vasubandhu could have criticised him, but he does not do so, but criticises Viṃśīyavāsin instead, as the most formidable representative of the Sāṃkhya school. It appears therefore that Īśvarakṛpṣa flourished some time before Dīṇāga and some time after Vasubandhu, or in other words, he was intermediate between Vasubandhu and Dīṇāga.

Further, merely because Vasubandhu failed to mention Īśvarakṛpṣa it is not reasonable to place him at a later period. Now Īśvarakṛpṣa is found indebted to Vātsyāyana,² who refers to Viśiṣṭavāda and Śūnyavāda³ of the Buddhists and hence belongs to a period approximately between A.D. 250-300. Īśvarakṛpṣa therefore must be later than Vātsyāyana (250-300) and also later than Vasubandhu (280-300) as has been shown previously, but earlier than Dīṇāga (350-410). That being so, we can reasonably expect to find Īśvarakṛpṣa as an older contemporary of Dīṇāga. A confirmation to this theory comes from an unexpected quarter, namely a late Tibetan authority, entitled the *Paṅ Sam Jon Zon*. Therein it is related that a Brahman named Īśvarakṛpṣa played mischief with Ācārya Dīṇāga, while he was composing his famous work, the *Prasastiprasaṅgavyākhyāna*. The Ācārya being enraged

¹ Cf. *Myśraśaṅkṣa*, p. 2—सङ्ख्यसामर्थ्याद् etc., and *Saṃkhyasamhitā*, No

17—साध्यांश्च श्रुतयः सङ्ख्यतन्त्राद् etc.

² Cf. तस्मिन्नुक्तिविपूर्वक on the *Myśraśaṅkṣa* No. 5 and *Saṃkhyasamhitā*,

No. 2.—तस्मिन्नुक्तिविपूर्वकपञ्चमस्तुतिप्रकरणं तु ।

³ *Myśraśaṅkṣa*, 4, 1, 28; 4, 2, 21-2. For further information on the date of Viṃśīyavāsin and Īśvarakṛpṣa see H. Bhattacharyya: *Foreword to the Tattvasaṃgraha*, pp. 170, 171, 172 and 173, 174.

challenged him to a disputation, either stating his own doctrines *Īśvarakṛpṣa* was vanquished several times, and without fulfilling his promise metted some uneasy imitations which burnt all the belongings of the *Ācārya*.¹

This being established we can fix *Īśvarakṛpṣa*'s time with some degree of confidence. *Īśvarakṛpṣa*, being an older contemporary of *Dīdhāga*, must be at least ten years senior to him. That brings us down to A. D. 330 as the date of his birth and if we allow a sixty years' span of life to him, in that case the year A. D. 390 would be the year of his death.

We can thus establish that *Vindhyavāsin* (A. D. 250-310) was much earlier than *Īśvarakṛpṣa* (A. D. 330-390) and can controvert the theory advanced by some Orientalists that *Vindhyavāsin* and even his *guru* *Vyāgrhṣa* must be reckoned as the successors of *Īśvarakṛpṣa*.

¹ Cf. *Vikṣyabhāṣana*, *Jñāna Logik*, pp 174-5, where a translation of the Tibetan extract is given in full.

Akbar's Tomb

BY

THAKUR RAMDINGH, M.A.

Plunder, Indore, C. I.

(Literal translation of the last chapter of the *Mu'arr-ur-Jahangiri*, the rubric of which is this, 'Remarks on the mausoleum of His Majesty Emperor Jaisuddin Mahomed Akbar of the Paradise abode, may God ever illumine his Reason')

In the first place there is the vestibule in which to the extent of twenty-thousand elephants and horses could take their stand and around this, there are roofed mansions all of which, with their arches, are decorated. The gateway, which gives ingress, is thirty yards by thirty yards and the height of this stage is 120 yards and over it the six-storied building is erected, and all from the roof to the bottom is decorated with geometrical designs which are illuminated in gold and lapis-lazuli. On all four sides of the arched mansion there are four minarets which are constructed of stone, being carried to three stories upside. The distance between the gateway, that gives ingress and the building where His Majesty of the Paradise abode is resting, is about half a Farsakh (league). The floor of the parker is done in red stone and on both sides of the parker trees of cypress, wild-pine, plane and acorn-palms, are planted. And at the end there is constructed an arrow-like tank from which flow various canals giving rise to fountains that reach the very head of the tomb of His Majesty, so much so that twenty fountains play thereabout. The water in each fountain rises up to one yard. The structure raised over the building, which contains the tomb of His Majesty, is of seven stories and each storey is smaller than the storey below it and the seventh storey has been constructed as the dome over all and this storey is made of stone. The entire structure of the mansion and the garden cost Rupees one hundred and eighty lakhs, and high above the tomb of His Majesty these distichs of poetry are written in bold characters :—

'The painter of the essence of water and earth and the embroiderer of the jewel of pure soul created the two worlds through his

beginningless plenty, one of them was ordained to be noxious and the other phenomenal.

Then He bestowed this temporary *tan* (world) upon the kings and leaders who deserved the crown and the treasury, so that from their Justice the world may become more prosperous than a garden in spring-tide. With those that keep the path of God before their vision, the strangers and their kinsmen are on the same footing. The king who lived like this in the world is verily the shadow of the Spirit of God.

For two and sixty years over nine hundred (862 Hijra) lived King Akbar as the shadow of the Lord of Glory. He sat on the throne of gold and (speaking relatively) the skies became abject.

He adorned the world by dispensing justice and giving relief, and, owing to this, the heart of the people of the world became glad. Great personages from all sects gathered round the foot of his throne.

When he threw his glance of kindness towards the dust, its essence became better than the pure spirit.

He conquered a country with a single charge in a battle and with a nod of his brow he gave away the same at a banquet.

His graciousness is as universal as that of God and in every undertaking he attained the aimed result.

Anybody who took refuge at his threshold was safe to move, like a thought from the fish to the moon (from the Nadir to the Zenith).

His fame could not be confined to the world like a hidden secret which cannot be confined to a heart. The face of the world became so perfect that the Creator of World Himself praised it as such. He ruled the world in such majesty for two and fifty years.

As he made this world flourishing with justice he left for the other world as an enlightened soul. Previous to him there had been other kings ruling over seven regions but now he conquered the seven heavens as well.

With the wise who possess prudent hearts this world of mud and water is like an *tan*. Do not seek any favour from the substratum of the nine spheres as it has never been kind to any one. One should not expect favour from the spheres which are full of enmity, because favour cannot come in aid of the malicious. The world itself is grief and a wave of the mirage when can a thirsty *Ro* get satisfied with it?

The world has made abundant covenants, but, which of them has it not broken in practice at the time?

Nobody can remain in the world for ever and nobody has saved his life from the hand of Death.

How happily has said that perfect sage and subtle analyst, who had gathered the store of the essence of wisdom (*Sesh Sarams*) when saying that: "Brother mine, the world cannot remain constant with any one, attach your heart to the Creator of the world and that is enough." King Akbar attained success by dispensing justice and he made the world like the Paradise above.

The world became happy in his reign and the space and time became obedient to him. But the world devoid of kindness and a promise-breaker, ousted his kindness from its heart through enmity. Owing to the unkindness of this world, he took his way to the ever-lasting world.

His soul was ever happy through the truth and from him the oriental world was prosperous. Be it said in the name of the King of kings of the everlasting kingdom, whose being is free from non-existence and from whom all the kings on the face of the earth get their crowns, thrones and signal, that He drew forth from non-existence His evident existence. His hand is the manifestation of kindness and benevolence. All and every, big and small, are the candidates for His kindness and His threshold is the guiding point of adoration for every body noble or plebeian.

The Dahra garden, situated on the brink of the Agra City was laid out by His Majesty the Emperor Jalahaddia Mohomed Akbar of the Paradise shade, in the beginning of his reign. Four tanks were constructed in this garden and each tank is about one-fourth Farsakh (League) in length and breadth and on the bank of each tank a high building was completed and old tall cypress trees are in abundance in this garden. There is a circular palace situated on the bank of the River Jumna which has twenty-five pillars, all of them are illuminated in gold on the lining of 'Fanga' and are embellished with ruby, turquoise and pearl and the roof of the palace is wainscoted with wood covering like a dome and is illuminated with gold. The roof of the dome from the concave is decorated with geometrical designs and is unique in the world as a work of art. If occasionally His Majesty is inclined to see the fight of the hideous elephant, neelgrew, ram or oxen, etc., he takes his seat in this palace as it is next to the ground floor. His

Majesty often sits in the third storey which is next to the River Jumna, with his high grandees and gives them wine from his own cup. The grandees have been ordered to take their seats in this building. The inspection pavilion, which is the place for the audience of the nobles and the plebeians, is a building which has been latticed in gold illumination. Beneath the palace, a large-roofed mansion has been made and in this mansion chancels were made of gold and in there stand princes and grandees who are commanders from one thousand to twenty-five thousand. The flooring of this mansion is of gold embroidered and woollen carpets measuring thirty and forty yards and on the upside of this mansion there are canopies of velvet and embroidery cloths of gold thread in three layers so that the heat of the sun may not have unbearable effect. The inspection pavilion which is embroidered in gold is an accompaniment alike in journey and at home. In every uninhabited spot (encampment) when the anchor is thrown down these are set in order. Three thousand maunds of the Indian gold and silver equivalent to thirty thousand maunds of Irak (Mesopotamia) has been spent in making the latticed chancels.

The garden at Sarhind was completed in the regime of Jahangir. The following is a quotation in the words of the Emperor Jahangir himself, wherein it is said that 'As I reached Sarhind I ordered Khwajah Awais Hamdani, who is one of my nobles, to lay out here the plan of a garden in the midst of which there may be a big tank. And as his skill in the construction of befitting and planning of the garden was accurate I was much pleased. The sum total of it is this, that when I entered the garden I found myself in a serpentine pathere on the other side of which scarlet roses being planted, there is constructed a big tank in the midst of the garden. There is a high building eight by eight, a square spot, on which twice twenty persons can sit together and in the circuit round about this building in every place three storied mansions high are made of the same kind which are all decorated with geometrical designs. There are seen about two thousand water fowls in the tank and the varieties of flowers when in bloom in this garden, are very pleasing to the sight.'

THE TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The present building, containing the tomb of Emperor Akbar the Great, is not the same that existed at the death of that Emperor

There is an inscription that sets forth that the existing building was erected in the reign of Jahangir. The *Mi'asir-i-Jahangiri* has been quoted by Sir H. M. Elliot in his *History of India*, vol. vi, on page 439, wherein it is said, in connection with the *Mi'asir-i-Jahangiri*, that 'this is the name given to the work of Khawaja Kamgar Qadiri by Gladwin, who has abstracted from it copiously in his *History of Jahangir* printed at Calcutta in the year 1788. He calls the author Kamgar Humayuni. The author of the *Critical Essay* on various manuscript works and James Fraser in his abridged *Mughal History*, prefixed to his *Life of Nadir Shah*, also calls it the *Mi'asir-i-Jahangiri*, and Muhammad Tahir Inayat Khan, in his Preface to the *History of Shah Jahan*, says the author calls it by that name; but the author himself gives no name to the work and native writers, as in the *Mi'asir-i-Umra* and the *Muntabiat-ul-Lahab*, usually speak of it simply under the name of *Jahangir-Nama*. Khawaja Kamgar informs us that in consequence of the incompleteness of the Emperor's Autobiography, he had long contemplated supplying its deficiencies by writing a complete life himself; when he was at last induced to undertake it at the instigation of the Emperor Shah Jahan in the third year of his reign A.H. 1040 (A.D. 1630-1631). The italics are by the Translator.

* * * *

'The *Mi'asir-i-Jahangiri* is divided into chapters devoted to the different years of the reign, there being but few other rubrics throughout the rest of the volume. The author of the *Critical Essay* observes of it, that it resembles the *Ishkname* in its profusion of minute details. About one-third of the volume is devoted to the proceedings of Jahangir previous to his accession.'

Professor Beni Prasad of the Allahabad University after supporting Sir H. M. Elliot *de toto* says on page 458 of his *History of Jahangir* that he used the manuscript of the *Mi'asir-i-Jahangiri* in the Khuda Baksh Khan Library, Benkipur. He also says that the *Mi'asir-i-Jahangiri* was not printed till 1912. My manuscript from which the above-mentioned article on Akbar's tomb has been translated gives its name as the *Mi'asir-i-Jahangiri* in the body of the text in the very beginning. The work in my possession commenced from the incidents of Jahangir's birth and ends with the installation of Jahangir by his father a couple of days before his death, and with the burial of

the Emperor Akbar in the Dahra Garden Mausoleum, situated on the brink of the then Agra City. The Mausoleum is still named as the 'Dahra Garden' by some of the living octogenarians of Agra at the present date, though European historians like Dr. James Fergusson, Dr. Havell, Mr. Vincent Smith and Mr. Keene, have quite forgotten the name of the 'Dahra Garden' and substituted 'Sikandra' in its place. My manuscript also says, with others, that the *Mi'asir-e-Jahangiri* was written in the third year of Shah Jahan's reign. The central building, containing the tomb of the Emperor Akbar is spoken of in my manuscript as having a dome (*Gumbad*) on the uppermost storey (three years after the death of Jahangir), but the existing building has no dome. This shows that the dome was removed later on to make room for a roofed terraced flat as the highest storey or that the word *Gumbad* denotes a dome as well a roofed terraced flat. It is quite conceivable that the tanks are not visible now owing to the length of time. Likewise the mansions eight by eight mentioned in my translation are not traceable. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India may institute an enquiry regarding the tanks and mansions. I wrote twice to the Librarian of the Khudabakhsh Khan Library at Benkipur, but no reply has been received, regarding the query, whether the *Mi'asir-e-Jahangiri* in that Library, stops short at the installation of the Emperor Jahangir? Before closing this note I beg to acknowledge the ungrudging assistance I have got from Bahu Ramdayal Sahib, Financial Secretary to the Jaora Durbar, for the explanation of some important archaic words absent in modern Persian dictionaries.

Sir William Norris at Masulipatam

CHANGE OF PLANS

(Continued)

BY

HARSHAN DAB, B.LITT (OXON), F.R.HIST.S.

THE patience of all was exhausted, and the only remedy seemed a radical change of plan. On June 8, it was unanimously resolved to take the first suitable Company's ship that might touch at Masulipatam to transport the embassy to Surat. This resolution was confirmed at a later meeting held on the 21st. Later events still further justified this decision. Writing on June 12, to Sir Nicholas Wals, Sir William says, 'After many artificial delays used by the Governor of Gocondole (in whose Government only we could be provided with cows) and no proprietor of cows could be induced or dared stir a step without leave, when he was so far pressed at last as the being told if he did not immediately grant his *Dandiks* pursuant to the King's command it would be taken for an absolute refusal, he had the confidence then to declare plainly he would grant no orders either for cows or ocoleys.' In consequence of this and other refusals and because the season was so far spent the Council resolved to 'take the opportunity of the first proper ship in the Company's service arriving at Masulipatam to transport His Excellency, retinue, presents and baggage forthwith to Surat.' Sir William therefore desired Wals to inform the Governor of Surat and also the Mogul of this decision. He leaves all arrangements for his arrival, reception and stay at Surat in Sir Nicholas' hands. Lastly he intimates that the Consul at Masulipatam proposed that a bill for four or five thousand pounds should be drawn upon the Surat factory for expenses already incurred on behalf of the embassy.

Nothing of importance is now recorded till June 19, when the Goeshardar had an interview with Mr. Mill concerning the intended departure of the embassy by sea to Surat. There is a characteristically oriental flavour in the record of what then took place. The Goeshardar stated that he had to obey the Mogul's orders to convey

the Ambassador by land and therefore the latter would not be allowed to go by sea. On Mr. Mill reiterating the intention of going by sea the Gooselarder replied that if it were carried out both he and the Governor would be hanged by the Mogul's orders. The same afternoon Mr. Mill saw the Governor who at first adopted a pleading pose. If the Ambassador would only go by land, coolies, cows, everything necessary would be provided. He could provide 'thousand cows in four days and as many coolies, hackeries and carts as there should be occasion for.' Mr. Mill remained firm, then the Governor tried threats, he could (and would) put a stop to the affairs of the Company, and the supply of cloth and other articles. He added that everybody would inform the Mogul that the Ambassador had never intended to come to court at all and had now run away.

At a subsequent date, June 21, Mr. Mill recapitulated to the Council the reasons for sending the embassy to Surat which he had given to the Mogul authorities;—that the *Harami-Hakims* and *Dastiks* had not arrived by May 25 the Governor of Goodora in defiance of his master's orders had refused transport; the roads from Masulipatam were now impassable, which would not be the case at Surat; and that Sir William's decision was now unalterable.

Meanwhile at Surat there was great and growing anxiety. The President and Council had heard nothing from Sir William since January 18, and in a letter dated June 22, pointed out how disastrous the long delay was to the New Company's interests, affording as it did fresh opportunities for mischief to their enemies in the Old Company.

The change of plan was itself a confession of failure. Naturally the first impulse of the Council at Surat was to disclaim any share in the blame for that failure. This comes out in a letter from them dated July 1. They showed surprise that Sir William had ever landed at Masulipatam. Obviously, they wrote, whoever gave that advice had a private interest to serve by embarrassing or retarding the embassy; or else had an inexcusable ignorance of the impossibility of finding the conveniences required on that part of the Coast of Coromandel. That, they added, was also the opinion of the servants of the Old Company. They further remark: 'The inhabitants and other strangers of India were and are still surprised that Your Excellency should land at Masulipatam with any prospect of attending

the Mogul's Camp without very great hazard and loss of time, when had Your Lordship come to this his ascient port, where have the Emperor's expresses going out and returning every four days and exceed not nine days in their journey, unless the overflowing the rivers in the times of the rains, or some other accident impedes their travelling, you could not have failed to reach the camp with all necessaries suitable to your character within forty days after landing.' They added that if Sir William could have embarked on the *Red* frigate he would have reached the camp before the rains began thereby saving the Company much expense and avoiding reflections on their conduct and the known preference and integrity of His Excellency. From these not very helpful generalities they concluded on some practical details intended to meet the situation as it then was.

Further evidence of the strained relations between the Ambassador and the Council is to be found in the record of a meeting on July 4 at Masulipatam. The *Traderoff* under Captain Newman had arrived on June 28 and Sir William desired the President to arrange for him to embark in her for Surat. The President replied that His Excellency must await the arrival of the *Sumsow*. To this Sir William rejoined that, if his request were not acquiesced in, he would, at the first opportunity, return to England. At another Council four days later it was announced that the *Sumsow* had arrived but the members expressed doubt about their authority to provide a ship for the Ambassador and requested him to make a formal demand for one. This he did next day when the Council decided that the *Sumsow* was most fitted to convey him to Surat. Eight days later Captain Douglas of the *Sumsow* demurred to the proposal and was warned that to refuse would be at his own peril.

Meanwhile things at Surat had been becoming equally unpleasant. Wain on July 20 wrote a protest against President Stephen Colt and his Council for their embarrassing tactics whereby the Ambassador's negotiations had been retarded, great expense caused and his arrival at the Mogul's camp delayed. He accused them of false and unjustifiable practices in opposition to the English Company at Surat, and elsewhere, as well as threats even against his own life.

Owing to the season the passage could not now be made before August. The various Mogul Governors had become alarmed by the

resolution to proceed by way of Surat as they feared the Mogul's anger when he should learn of Sir William how the embassy had been delayed by them. They, therefore, encumbered him with promises of help to prosecute the journey by land, knowing, however, that the rivers were already too swollen by the rains to allow of his passage. These failing to change his resolution, they threatened to prevent his embarkation, but found the threats as impotent as the promises.

Ultimately Sir William did embark on the *Sesewar* on August 15, although the actual sailing did not take place till the 20th. Meanwhile there was much correspondence between various officials and himself. This illustrates the Ambassador's difficulties, beset as he was with conflicting interests in India and charged with the duty of operating a policy directed from England. A short résumé will best help the reader to understand them.—

Under date July 23, he writes to Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal articulating the advice received from England regarding the sale of salices, sikks and other stuffs. If the bill prohibiting their import into England were passed it would reduce the Indian trade and might call forth retaliation on the part of the Mogul. It would stultify his own mission as well as the other bill for continuing the Old Company as a Corporation. No embassy to promote trade, or Corporation to carry it out, could affect its object if the country sending them out should legislate against trade itself.

About the same time there is a long letter from him to Sir Nicholas Wals and the Council at Surat. In it he recapitulates the events of the past few weeks and expresses his confidence that Sir Nicholas will have all in readiness for his journey to the camp and that he will arrange with the Governor for a suitable reception on the arrival of the *Sesewar* at Surat. In this connection he expresses the belief that 'a very handsome and distinguishing present' to the Governor would make the latter 'our best friend and assure him to our interest.' He also hopes the Old Company's factors and agents being Englishmen will be present to receive him at his landing. Commodore Littleton, with whom Wals has already had some passages at arms regarding *disloyalty* to the Ambassador and too great intimacy with the Old Company, is marked out in this letter for summary treatment; Sir William, to maintain his character as King

William's representative, intends 'to clap Commodore Littleton in irons' and send him home

On August 10, Sir William receives a letter in flattering language from Asaad Khan. The latter hopes he will not go to Surat by sea as the Mogul had already been informed that he intended to travel by land. He had, therefore, sent a second command to the Governor to give him all necessary assistance. The letter closes thus, 'Dear Brother, give ear to me and come by land y^t my word to ye King may not prove a Lye.' Other letters of the same time show that the decision to go by sea had now alarmed the minds of the Mogul officials who feared that it would lead to disclosures of their own share in the hindrances that had caused it.

On the 13th and 14th Sir William replied to Asaad Khan expressing his appreciation of the latter's friendship and kindness but explaining that he had been forced to arrange for the journey by sea owing to repeated hindrances and refusals, that the baggage and equipment had already been embarked and he himself gone on board before Asaad Khan's letter arrived. The second of these letters shows that Sir William possessed all the suave courtesy needed by a diplomat accredited to an Oriental court. 'Your Highness will be more fully satisfied of the necessity I lay under of going to Surat, when I have the happiness to see you, which words cannot express how much I desire. The delays and disappointments I have met with here have been the more irksome because they kept me so long from the most noble, victorious and great Asad Chawn whose friendship I shall esteem dearer than my life.'¹

As already noted the embarkation took place on August 15. Notice had been sent to the Governor and officers, and all the English gentlemen of the place were present, save only those connected with the Old Company, these having had special orders to take no notice of the event. Tilard in his diary gives a vivid and picturesque description of what took place:—'15th ditto his Excellency . . . went aboard ye ship *Swallow*, Capt John Douglas Comdr, for Surat. He went thro' ye town in great splendour, viz: first, from ye great house, called King of Golconda's to ye consall's . . . He went under ye canopy of 4 a down Kunkie, on black men to each, ye

¹ See *History Research*, n.s., vol. II, India Office.

council following him with 2 over his head, then his Excellency's brother Jno [sic] Norris Esq., with 2 over his head, after him ye council wch were onely Mr Jno Graham and myself, ye rest being dead. After ym follow'd ye factors and writers, and all ye English Nation then in town, excepting ye old Compa servts, wch never would take any notice of ye Ambassa. Before his Excellency went his gentlemen, Mr Mills and Mr Hales, with Mr Harlawyn, Paymaster to ye Embassy who carried ye sword of Justice before his Excellency, and before ym went all my Lords Livery servts, there going onely 4 by his side; and before ym went a compa of soldiers wch they took out of ye ship, the bargo crew [sic] going first of all with waistcoats and could waistcoats, well armed. My Lord had ye Union and King's flag likewise before him, which he ordered to be burnt so soon as he came into ye Council's house—I suppose because they were old and torn.¹

On August 18, Sir William addressed a long letter to the Court of Directors from on board the *Semaster*. In it he explains his reasons for sailing to Surat and makes serious complaints about Consul Pitt's conduct. To the latter he attributes the failure of his original plan of marching from Masulipatam to the Mogul's camp. 'It is not only in this particular and many others that I have suspected the Consul here not to act for your interest as far as the success of the embassy may be conducing to it.' He wrote in similar terms to Secretary James Vernon and caused both letters to be read to the Consul before being sealed up. These letters possess exceptional interest because of the clear and detailed account of recent events which they give.

The same day he wrote to the President and Council at Masulipatam. This letter complains of the Consul's behaviour and requests that sailing orders be given at once as he has already been aboard four days. Sir William's letter of August 18, to the Court of Directors complaining of the Consul, was read to the latter and Mr. Tilted.²

¹ See Diary, p. 28.

² Tilted writes in his diary 'ye 20th August ye ship *Semaster* departed this road, with my Lord Ambasser on board in order to go for Surat; the reason why his Lordship took this method to go for ye Camp was occasioned by ye impudence of ye governors in and about this town of Kitchelope, who refused giv' Dundick and necessary assistance for carry' his goods and retinue over land, and, ye rules coming on, thought he might be stopp'd by ye Mogul, by way of Surat.' Whereas Muntak's story about the impediment offered to Sir William by the Mogul's

It was replied to by Pitt, Tilard and Graham. The reply begins 'We have perused your letter to the Directors, so full of reflections and censures on the reputation of the Consul, that upon second reading we could hardly persuade ourselves it was wrote by an Ambassador,' and goes on to deny the charges made. Regarding the delay in receiving sailing orders for the *Sewans* of which he had also complained they add, 'My Lord you cannot charge any delays upon us for your stay in the Road on the *Sewans*, for want of a dispatch for nothing is ready to answer our giving it to the honourable Directors, for Your Excellency cannot but believe they will expect invoices of what is laden for account of the embassy.'

Sir William's answer to this letter shows that his temper was still warm, for he declares that the next time he writes to the Director's he will 'inform them how rudely you have all behaved yourselves to me.'

A letter from the Camp written on August 23, by Bunscock Beg shows that the Indian mind was still clinging to the thought of a journey by land from Masulipatam. He states that news has been received of the arrival of guns and presents as well as the *Heckel-Heckem*. He declares his intention of setting out to meet the Ambassador in ten or fifteen days and states that the latter's arrival is being eagerly expected by Asad Khan. He hopes further that Sir William will travel by land to the confusion of his opponents who have privately instructed their agents to persuade him otherwise to his advantage.

A dispatch from the Court of Directors, dated September 3, 1700, expresses anxiety at not having had direct news from Sir William for some time. It refers to the disrespect shown by the Old Company to the Presidents of their various factories and points out that the Act of Parliament empowering the Old Company to continue as a Corporation had put the New Company in a serious position. It was therefore all the more necessary that there should be obtained from the Mogul confirmation of their Presidents' positions as being King's ministers and consuls, giving them exclusive power to hoist the English flag and grant passes for the English to all Governors and officers through-

officers and its causes does not seem to correspond entirely with Sir William's own account of the events observed prior to his departure from Masulipatam or Tilard's account just given. See pp. 280-82, *Sketches de l'Asie et l'Inde* de Tilard; 1039-1700.

out the Mogul's dominions. Regarding the pirates it states that ten had been recently executed, in England, many more at the Barbadoes and other plantations, while others were in prison awaiting an early trial.¹

Mr Stephen Colt and others on September 5, recorded in a letter their opinion that Sir William must have had private orders to delay the embassy as it could not otherwise have been necessary to remain about twelve months at Masulipatam. They suggested that perhaps a hope had existed that the interval might have allowed of a Union between the Companies which would have put the embassy in a more advantageous and honourable position.

Again on September 7, the Court of Directors wrote acknowledging receipt of his letter by the *Degree* and expressing satisfaction with his notions therein recorded. They wrote on the same day to Sir Nicholas Walshe acknowledging his reports of the ill usage received by Sir William from the Old Company's agents and asking for names, stations and qualities of the delinquents.

The members of the Old Company at Fort St George reported on October 4, that Sir William had passed there in one of the New Company's ships bound for Surat. They seem at the same time to have expressed the opinion that he would be unable to do anything to the prejudice of the Old Company. It is recorded that no salutes were fired as the *Savannah* passed Fort St. George. Coylon was reached on October 22, after delays from contrary winds. The *Centenary* was met homeward bound and letters, minutes, etc., sent by her.

Leaving Sir William now to continue his voyage round to Surat we may note a few of the happenings elsewhere. At Surat early in October Sir Nicholas Walshe and others resolved to give an undertaking on receipt of the *Phœnix* that two ships would be appointed to convey the Surat merchants and protect them from pirates. Hostility between the two Companies was still further demonstrated by a protest on October 19 on the part of President Colt and others against allegations made by Sir Nicholas that they were pirates. At the same time they boasted that the Old Company would soon be able to grapple with the New Company and that in a year's time Sir Nicholas would be deprived of his Consular power. They also courteously informed

¹ See ADD. MS., II, 202. British Museum.

him that they regarded him merely as Chief of the New Company and not as Consul at all. There was also a report that on November 5 the 'Rashpoots' had burnt down some 'apartments' in the garden of the house prepared by Sir Nicholas for the Ambassador. Indeed mischief seems to have been at that time committed almost nightly which 'the effeminate Govr and his crew but lightly regards.' From London the heads of the Old Company wrote in a boastful strain to President and Council at Fort St. George as follows.---

'The New Act for our continuance will very much alter the face of affairs there as it hath done here. We can tell you that the interest of the New Company does very much decline and wee think wee and our friends stand upon as good a foot that the day will come when the agents of the New Company must give an account for their irregular and unjust actions and so must the Ambassador wherein he exceeds his Majesties Commission which he hath done sufficiently and as you well observe he hath proceeded more like the Ambassador of the New Company than the Kings.'

Sir William anchored at Surat on December 10, after a voyage of nearly four months. He had a mixed reception. On the one hand the Mogul's men-of-war fired a salute which was duly returned. A resident of Surat assured him that this was 'a particular respect . . . never remembered to have been practised before, for one of ye Mogulls men of war in their chiefe port to give ye first salute.'¹ On the other hand Dutch merchantmen did not salute. Two English ships at Swally Bar flew the Union Flag, Sir John Gayer being on the *Tambick*, the other being the *Loyal Merchant*. They were ordered by Sir William to strike the flag and asked how they dared fly it in the sight of His Majesty's flag, but, as he remarked, they seemed 'resolved to act in open defiance to my character.' The Consul next day reported that the Governor and his son had been bribed by the Old Company's agents with '5 laes of rupees' not to receive Sir William with honour.

Two days after his arrival Sir Nicholas White described to him the general state of affairs at Surat. Several important merchants were dismouthing for 50 laes of rupees due to them by the Old Company and claiming to have the matter laid before the Mogul. The Consul

¹ See Diary, vol. II, MS. A. and C. MS. Bodleian.

told him that 'from ye highest to ye lowest all were masonry except 2 of ye Greates men sit ye Camp who are known never to accept of a Gratuity,' and that the Mogul himself 'values nothings soe much as a good summe of money paide into his Treasury' Sir William told the Council that as King's Ambassador he expected a great reception but was informed that the Old Company had done all they could to disparage him.

It was resolved at a Council held in his cabin on December 13, that a great reception should be given him and a money present made to the Governor of Surat. A little later he records that the Governor had sent a message to him saying that 'If I came from merchants he durst not receive me as from a Kinge without Loose of his heade unless I give him a sight of ye Ka King's letter to ye Greates Mogull.' It was decided that the King's letter should be read both in English and Persian.

At a Council six days later payment of 3,200 rupees to the Governor and his son was arranged for in order that the two might go down to Umbra, five miles below the city, to receive His Excellency and conduct him to his house. There the King's letter and Commission would be shown them. The Governor would then be able to assure the Emperor and Grand Vicer that the Ambassador had been truly commissioned by the King of England and could certify the same to all Governors as Sir William passes through their governments on his way to Court. All this being communicated to the Governor he replied that the Emperor's orders did not oblige him to meet His Excellency outside of the city but only to conduct him safely out of that Government: that as the Old Company asserted Sir William to be only Ambassador for the New Company he as Governor dare not receive him publicly unless he was assured that he brought the King's letter for the Emperor. Further, he demanded money if he were required to acknowledge the Ambassador. Sir Nicholas, to whom this reply was made, resolved to await His Excellency's decision. Meanwhile the presents were held in readiness lest Sir William's reception should in any way be prejudiced by delay.

Towards the end of the month several discourtesies were offered the Embassy. The French Commander refused to lend him boats: the Customs-House officers inspected his presents on being sent ashore

'most narrowly.' The *Tewitack*, an English ship then in port, sailed away without saluting, this by the order of Sir John Gayer. The French Commanden expected him to salute first, which would not have become the 'King's Jack.' And a house hired for him to which additions costing 1,800 rupees had been made was burnt down, as it was believed by persons inspired from the Old Factory. Was ever an Ambassador so let and hindered as he ?

The Climacteric of Talikota

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THE climacteric of TELIKOTA cannot be properly appreciated without a full knowledge of the political facts and tendencies of the half-century following that battle. It is no longer correct to say that 'Here (after the battle of TELIKOTA) my sketch of Vijayanagar history might well end,'¹ and thus began the third (fourth) dynasty, if dynasty it can be appropriately called,² or to refer to 'the history which need only be shortly summarised.'³ It is customary to regard TELIKOTA as the Waterloo of the Vijayanagar Empire, and the lead of the late Mr. Robert Sewell seems to be still in the ascendant. It is therefore necessary to estimate rightly the effects of the battle of TELIKOTA on the Empire of Vijayanagar.

Our general position may be indicated at the outset by a few short extracts from the original authorities. Fariahta observes : 'The kingdom of Beejannagur since this battle has never recovered *its ancient splendour*.'⁴ Ranaaj, in the year 978 (A.D. 1564), opposed the kings of the Deccan, and was slain ; after which period no such *raja* has sat on the throne.'⁵ Thus it is clear that, at the time Fariahta wrote (about 1611), Vijayanagar did not follow the aggressive foreign policy of the hero of TELIKOTA, who bestrode the narrow Mughal-ridden world like a colossus and made the Deccan Sultans bow to him 'in a bondman's key'. Further, the extracts quoted above cannot be taken as evidence for the theory of the independence of the imperial feudatories soon after 1565,⁶ as will be shown in the sequel. William Finch, referring to the period 1608-11, notes : 'Alongst the seaside toward the cape is the mighty krag of Bezenager (Vijayanagar), under whom the Portuguese hold Saint Thomas and Negapatan, but are not suffered to build a castle.'⁷ A Jesuit observer wrote in 1583 : 'In spite of that

¹ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 200, p. 202.

² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁴ Briggs, *Fariahta* (R. Campbell & Co.), vol. II, p. 181.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 202.

⁶ Sewell, p. 202.

⁷ Foster, *Early Travels to India* (Oxford University Press, 1901), p. 122.

(the destruction of the city of Vijayanagar) the sovereign of this kingdom was not so shaken that he lost all his power and wealth, because he owns a large state and good many elephants and cavalry and a numerous army' (Quoted by the Rev P. H. Haras).¹

Let us first analyse the evidence of Fariahta and of another chronicler of his type (the unnamed author of the *History of Golkonda**) and understand the effects, according to them, of Telliśa on the foreign policy of Vijayanagar. These Muhammedan authorities make us believe very strongly that the post-Telliśa history of Vijayanagar for nearly half a century was not fundamentally different from its history before 1605; parallels in pre-Telliśa history can be easily found to the happenings in the period following Telliśa. The information supplied by them may be arranged under the following heads.

A. SIEGES OF PENNARODRA

There were three sieges of Pennarodra by the Muhammedans, all of which had to be raised. In 1577 Ali Adil Shāh marched to the Hindu capital and blockaded it for three months. Though the Rāya retreated to Chandragiri for the safety of his treasures, his energetic action compelled the Sultan to abandon the siege. According to Fariahta, the cause of the Hindu success was that the fidelity of a chief on the opposite side was corrupted by a bribe of twenty-four lakhs of rupees and five elephants. The Adil Shāh consequently retired to Ramdiptr and thence to Bijaptr.² In 1579 he besieged Pennarodra again, and his desire 'to wrest it out of the hands' of Śrīraṅga I (usually II) was not fulfilled owing, it is said, to the combination of Vijayanagar and Golkonda armies.³ In 1585, after his capture of Gadolśa, Muhammad Kān Kutb Shāh besieged Pennarodra, but the siege had to be raised, thanks to the exertions of Jagadśva Rāya.⁴

B. RAIDS INTO VIJAYANAGAR TERRITORY

In 1583 was made a dash for Mysore, but the Muhammedan army was recalled consequent on the rebellion of Ibrahim Adil Shāh II's brother.⁵ In 1588 happened the counter-raid into Udayagiri territory

¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xiv, p. 131.

² Briggs, vol. II, pp. 317-318.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 424-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 424, & E. Aiyangar, *Sketches of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 229-30.

⁶ Briggs, vol. II, p. 139.

by Abul Khān, the Golkonda Governor of Kondaḡiri, and the plundering expedition to Kālahasti.¹

C. MUHAMMADAN ESTIMATE OF VIJAYANAGAR'S POWER

There is clear from the desire of the Sultans to make alliances with Vijayanagar, from their undertaking campaigns against the latter after a combination among themselves, and from the flight of Muhammadan rebels to the Hindu capital.

In 1568 was made a joint request to Tirumala by the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda for help against Bijapur, but Ahmadnagar's demand of two lakhs of *Asar* from Tirumala angered him and called forth the disapprobation of Golkonda, which remonstrated against that astonishing requisition and emphasised the necessity of conciliating a useful ally. When that demand was, however, reiterated, Tirumala refused it and treated Ahmadnagar as his enemy. These negotiations, though abortive, throw some light on the position of Tirumala in the year following the battle of Tūlkōṭa.² In 1564 Burhān Nisām Shāh concluded an alliance with Venkaja I against Ibrahim Ādil Shāh II.³ But it should not be forgotten that Tirumala forced the Ādil Shāh to retreat from Ānagurḡi in 1566 by a successful appeal to Ahmadnagar,⁴ and that in 1573 Śrīrāga compelled Bijapur to raise the siege of Pegukōṭa with the help of Golkonda.⁵

Though the capture of Aḡni in 1568 substantially increased the military reputation of Ali Ādil Shāh, he deemed it hazardous to extend his conquests southward without the help of allies and made an alliance with the Nisām Shāh.⁶ In 1572 another alliance was concluded between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, defining their respective spheres of aggression.⁷ Between 1580 and 1589 'a treaty of perpetual amity and friendship' was made by Bijapur with Golkonda which was cemented by a marriage alliance with the object of maintaining their conquests intact.⁸ Lastly, we are told that 'it had been always an understood principle with the Mahomedan kings of the Deccan not to invade the Beejanaggar territories *without the general consent of the whole*.'⁹

¹ Briggs, vol. III, pp. 425 and 440.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 124 and 305.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 424-5.

⁴ *Ibid.* no. 266-7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 419-20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

Further, the chiefs disloyal to the Sultans hoped for and obtained help from Vijayanagar. Soon after the accession of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580) some of his nobles, who did not like his minister, thought of maturing their plot against the latter in the Hindu capital.¹ About 1592 a plot against the Sultan of Golkonda was organised at Penukonda.² The other features of the Hindu conflict with the Muhammadans, such as the aggressions of Vijayanagar and the territorial acquisitions of the latter, will be considered in another connection.

The sieges of Penukonda and their failure remind us of the attempts against the imperial city under the Bahmanis. The attack on Kijabadi is reminiscent of that on Kunchi in 1481. The 'flights and apologies' of Veṅkapa I are similar to those of Śaṅkha Narasimha and Bukka I, the 'victories' of Islam are like those of earlier times. Though such features of the Hindu-Muhammadan struggle are to be accepted provisionally, if at all, the strength of the Vijayanagar Empire emerges clearly from the aggressions of Veṅkapa I and the revolts of chiefs against the Sultans, some of which were instigated by him and his predecessors. Apart from the victories claimed for the Emperors of Vijayanagar in their inscriptions and in Hindu literature, the Muhammadan authorities mention the numerical superiority of the Hindus, with the result that the co-confighters of the former 'found it impossible to give them battle.'³ Moreover, the heavy losses of the Muhammadans are sometimes recorded.⁴ It is too much to expect a clearer account of the strength of Vijayanagar from authorities like Firishta. But the abandonment of the city of Vijayanagar and the concentration on Penukonda pushed the zone of war southward, and the importance of the Rakshatṭraṇa was transferred to the southern side of the Tungabhadra line, though not immediately after Tuluṅkapa.

HINDU LITERATURE

Tirumala's victories over the Sultans are recorded in two Telugu works, the *Rāmāyānam* of Veṅkapa and the *Pennakāśitram* of Bhakti Mūrti; the latter authority mentions three defeats sustained by the Muslim Śāhā and other Sultans, one of which was at Penukonda and another near the Krishna, with the result that the enemies were expelled beyond that river.⁵

¹Tilagam, vol. II, p. 147.

²Id., p. 452.

³Id., pp. 452-3.

⁴Id., p. 452.

⁵Id., p. 452.

⁶Id., p. 452.

The *Ramavayyan* says that Śrīraṅga Rāya invaded the territories of Bijapur, Ahmednagar, and Golkonda and 'renewed the glory of the Karnāṭa empire which had waned.' A victory over the Nisān Shāh is claimed for Rāya, his younger brother.¹ The *Lakṣmīvilāsa* of Rāyasaṃ Veṅkaṭapati records that Śrīraṅga defeated 'the large armies of the Kutb Shāh and captured his royal insignia.'² We find, however, the *Annals of Haṇḍi Anantāpura* mentioning, after Śrīraṅga's successful attack on Kalyāṇ and Kuḷburga, a counter-invasion by the Sultans which ended in the defeat and imprisonment of the Emperor and in their conquest and administration of 'the whole country north of Pennakōḍa.'³ But it must be noted that the account apparently gives a defence of Haṇḍi Malakappa Nāyaka's opportunism, and it is not easy to determine whether we have not here an instance of local patriotism falsifying history. The unnamed Muhammadan historian refers to 'Kupoory Timraj, son-in-law of the celebrated Ramraj' becoming a prisoner of the Sultan of Golkonda in 1579, but not to the imprisonment of the Emperor Śrīraṅga.⁴ Moreover, Ferishta says nothing in support of the statement of the *Annals*. Lastly, the imprisonment of Śrīraṅga is ascribed to the period between the cyclonic years Manmatha and Vāḥiri (1593-96 and 1598-1600). So the reference cannot be to Śrīraṅga I, the predecessor of Veṅkaṭa I. The *Yayattīravarṇana* mentions the conclusion of a treaty between Śrīraṅga and the Kutb Shāh in consequence of the former's interview with the latter. Though that work was dedicated to a Muhammadan chief in the service of Golkonda, there is no reference in it to the imprisonment of Śrīraṅga.⁵

According to the *Ramavayyan*, Veṅkaṭa inflicted a bloody defeat on the Kutb Shāh on the banks of the Ponnai and fixed the Kriṣṇā as the boundary between the two kingdoms.⁶ The *Raghuveṇkātābhyaṇas* of Rāmanabhadraśūbhā refers to the services of the Tanjore Nāyaka, Raghuveṇka, to Veṅkaṭa in defeating the Muhammadans.⁷

INSCRIPTIONS

Śrīraṅga's Kriṣṇāpuraṃ copper plates of 1575-76 refer to his conquests of Koṇḍavīḍu, Viṅkōḍa, Uḍayagiri, and other forts.⁸ His inscription of 1576 mentions him as residing at Uḍayagiri and

¹ S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 215.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 261-2.

³ S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 226.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁶ *Śaṅkha*, vol. II, pp. 437-8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

⁸ *I.L.I.*, vol. VI, pp. 266-267.

records his conquest of 'the inaccessible' fortress of Koppavijaya.¹ Another record of the same year (Dhāra, Amritāpur, Gunter) states the remission of taxes on merchants, weavers and others, 'on account of a plunder suffered by the people.'² In 1577 and 1583 Śrīraṅga claims to have taken 'all countries' and received tribute from Ceylon.³ His Abūḥaṣam inscription of 1584-85 says that in Bahadūra (1578-79) he defeated the Kuth Shāh.⁴ The Amīnābād inscription of Amīn-ul-Mulk, dated in 1593-93, commemorates the Kuth Shāh's conquests from Vijayanagar in 1580 and says that he was ruling over the Koppavijaya province.⁵ In 1592 and 1608 Veṅkaṭa I claims to have 'levied tribute from all countries' including Ceylon.⁶ The Siddhant inscription of 1603 mentions the defeat of the Mūhammads by Veṅkaṭa at Pannakopla.⁷

The relations of the Vijayanagar Empire with the Dekhan Sultanates indicated by the evidences detailed above show that, after the battle of Talikōṭa, foreign policy was conducted by the Hindu Emperors vigorously, even with credit, with this difference that the debatable land was no longer the Raikōṭr Dūrah, but the region to the south of it along the Tungabhadra-Krishnā line. Two other features of the history of Vijayanagar during the half-century following Talikōṭa which deserve consideration are the extent and time of Vijayanagar's territorial losses in the north and the internal condition of the Empire.

TERRITORIAL LOSSES

Immediately after Talikōṭa the chief trans-Tungabhadra-Krishnā acquisitions of Rāmaraṭṭa, viz., Raikōṭr and Mūdgal, and 'all the districts which had been taken from Ibrahim Kōṭh Shah in the reign of Rāmraṭṭa' are said to have been seized by the Sultan.⁸ In 1568 Adni was captured by All Ḍāḍ Shāh after 'several ineffective actions.'⁹ In 1573 Dhārwar and Bankāpur fell after a resistance to him for six and fifteen months respectively.¹⁰ The succeeding years to 1577-78 witnessed the capture (1575) and re-fortification of Chandragutṭi and the subjugation of some of the chiefs of Malhar and the settlement of the new conquests in that region.¹¹

¹ C. I., No. 23 of 1811.

² 134 and 136 of 1812.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-20.

⁴ 204 of 1812, R. K. Aiyangar, *Supra*, pp. 248-9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁶ 229 of 1860.

⁷ R. K. Aiyangar, *Supra*, pp. 252-3.

⁸ 208 of 1812 and 20 of 1860.

⁹ 204 of 1812, R. K. Aiyangar, *Supra*, pp. 248-9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 125-6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 415.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 252-53.

THE 1579 Golkonda was engaged in the reduction of Rājasmahādri and places to the north of it. It was in that year that the conquest of the old-Krishṇā territories of Vijayanagar in the east began, the immediate cause of it being the attack on Koppāpalli by some 'Hindu chiefs'. Haider-ol-Mulk reduced Vinnakoppa, Comban, and Bellamkoppa and laid siege to Kondavittu, which surrendered, after a protracted siege, to Haider's successor, Shih Mir, with the result that Golkonda acquired the province of Koppavittu, 'including two or three sea ports'. This was followed a decade after (in 1589) by the capture of Mandya, Kurnool (?), and Gadgilittu. 'Most of the petty rulers of Beejunngur had now bent their necks to the Mahomedan yoke'.

Thus the whole of the Gunter district and parts of the Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddapah, and Nellore districts, as well as portions of the West Coast, passed on to the Muhammedans. There is no doubt that by 1580 Vijayanagar had lost the whole of the Gunter district; there are found in it thirteen inscriptions (Madras Collection) of Śrīranga ranging from 1572 to 1580 and none after the latter year during the period under survey, but such is not the case in the other districts where inscriptions of later years are found: in Bellary to 1592 and in Kurnool, Cuddapah, and Nellore to the end of our period (1614). So the Muhammedan conquest and government of 'the whole country north of Pennakoppa', recorded in the *Annals of Haidar Ali*, cannot be accepted.

But the above-mentioned conquests must be viewed in the light of the frequent revolts of Hindu and other chiefs against Muhammedan authority, sometimes instigated by Vijayanagar, and the attempts of the latter power to recover them.

A. REVOLTS AGAINST BĪJAPUR

Ghalib Khān, Governor of Adil, revolted in 1584.¹ In the same year the chiefs of Malhar refused to pay tribute, and an expedition under Daul Khān was sent against them. His failure, imprisonment, and escape were followed by the refusal of the Regent of Bījapur to direct his attention at once to that quarter.² A second expedition under the same general was sent in 1587, but he was soon recalled.³ Another effort in 1593 failed no better owing to the rebellion of the

¹ Briggs, vol. II, pp. 438-9.

² E. L. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 238.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 438-9.

⁵ Briggs, vol. II, p. 127.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-7.

Sultan's brother at Belgaum which resulted in the attack on Benjapūr by the Malabar chiefs.¹ 'The seminaries throughout the kingdom of Benjapoor were ripe for revolt.'² In 1585 Benjapūr was about to lose Adoni.³

B. REVOLTS AGAINST GOLKONDA

In 1580 Ali Khān marched into the province of Koṇḍavīṣa, besieged Cambam, ravaged Koṇḍepaṭh, and attacked Nishampatam, but was finally killed.⁴ The Amalāṣṭh inscription of Amin-ul-Mulk, dated in 1592-93, mentions the revolt of some Hindu and Muhammadan chiefs against the Sultan in the cyclic year Khara (1581-82) and their capture of the Koṇḍavīṣa district. The rebellion was put down by that general.⁵ The Muhammadan historian describes the revolt of three *paṇḍits*, a Muhammadan and two Hindus, their refusal to pay tribute to the Sultan of Golkonda, and their plunder of his country near Koṇḍavīṣa, with the result that Amin-ul-Mulk conducted a successful expedition and the rebels joined Vijayanagar.⁶

C. VENKATA'S ACTIVITIES

In 1589 Venkata invaded Golkonda, and the subsequent siege of Penukonda by the latter had to be abandoned. He followed up his success by ravaging the province of Koṇḍavīṣa and attempting to recover Gaṇḍibōṭṭa from Sanjiv Khān. The Muhammadan historian notes Venkata's initial failure on the battle-field, but the siege of Gaṇḍibōṭṭa was carried on for three months. The Hindu forces became so numerous that two Muhammadan armies 'found it impossible to give them battle, but confined their operations to plundering and cutting off supplies'. The Muhammadans became panic-stricken at the sight of 'a red bullock' driven into their ranks by their enemies. The Hindus took advantage of the situation and attacked the Muhammadans, who escaped total destruction by retreating, but sustained heavy losses, with the result that Rustam Khān was 'disgraced, on his return to Hyderabad, by being dressed in female attire, after which he was banished the kingdom,' and that the Sultan resolved to attack Penukonda and 'to lay in ashes all the enemy's towns in his route'. In the subsequent invasion the *ḥōḍḍ* of *Khalas* were destroyed and Muhammadan prayers were read to the

¹ Briggs, vol. II, pp. 175-6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

³ B. K. Agrawal, *Source*, p. 260.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 448-50.

⁶ Briggs, vol. II, pp. 494-51.

temples of that town. 'These edifices may well be compared in magnificence with the buildings and paintings of China, with which they vie in beauty and workmanship.' Though the Muhammadan historian says that his co-religionists carried on war for 'several years' south of the Krishna, he does not record any further substantial results. These events happened in 1591 before Amul-Mulk's expedition.¹

Vadkaja marched a second time to Konjaviṇu between 1591 and 1603 with an army of 'two hundred thousand horse and infantry and one thousand elephants,' but no battle was fought, and he submitted to the Sultan, confessing that the real object of his presence in that region was to see the lake at Cumbar, according to the Muhammadan historian!²

The only reasonable conclusion from all this evidence appears to be that South India between north latitudes fifteen and sixteen became the bone of contention between Vijayanagar and Bijapur and Golkonda, and played the part that the Reichär Dab had played in earlier times. No doubt the territories on both sides of that region became the theatre of predatory warfare now and then.

REVENUE OF VIJAYANAGAR FEUDATORIES.

Fariahi says: 'The country (Vijayanagar Empire) has been seized on by the tributary chiefs, each of whom hath assumed an independent power in his own district.'³ This statement is generally taken to support the independence of the feudatories of Vijayanagar soon after the battle of Talikota, but the reference is clearly to the time when Fariahi wrote. His account of the fortunes of Vijayanagar after Talikota does not substantiate that view as it mentions the revolt specifically of two chiefs, and they belonged to the northern frontier.

Adoni came under a principal officer of Rāmraja after his death, and it was that independent chief who came into conflict with Ali Adil Shah in 1603.⁴ The chief of Dabirwār, originally an officer of Rāmraja, paid an annual tribute to Tirumala till his own subjugation by the Adil Shah in 1573.⁵ The ruler of Bankapur, another assistant of Rāmraja, became independent after his master's death, but appealed to Tirumala against the Adil Shah in the same year. According to Fariahi, the Rāya gave the following reply to that appeal:

¹ Briggs, vol. II, pp. 646-66.

² *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 686-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

'By his wickedness and evil example most of the dependents on his house had become rebels and departed from their duty, so that it was with difficulty he could support himself at Pankonda and Chandergerree. He promised (however) to issue his orders to all his vassals to assist him, though he could not rely on their obedience.'¹ But Ferishta does not mention the revolt of any of the major feudatories of the Empire, but rests content with naming two minor chiefs, without substantiating the weighty words he puts into the mouth of Tirumala. The unnamed Muhammadan historian says that 'most of the petty rulers of Deccanaggar had now (1589) bent their necks to the Mahomedan yoke'.² Moreover, Ferishta does not make clear whether all the chiefs conquered by the Sultans could be regarded as disloyal to Vijayanagar.

THE CASE OF MADURA

It is believed that the battle of Talikota straightway converted Madura into a potential rebel praying for imperial misfortunes. Some literary and epigraphical evidences are let in which relate to the half-decade preceding the accession of Venkaja I. At times the period is taken to the close of the sixteenth century or to the beginning of the next.

According to the *Chikhatavaya Pustakam* of Tirumalaya, Venkaja was involved in a war with Virappa Nayaka, and Madura was besieged by the imperial army under Tirumala, the nephew of the Emperor, who, however, received a bribe from the Nayak and retired to his viceroyalty of Seringapatam, with the result that Raja Udayar decided on dispossessing him of it.³ Further, the Pedukottai plates of Sri Vallabha and the battle of Vallapirkkura they describe are taken to establish Virappa Nayaka's disloyalty in 1583.⁴ Lastly, the Siddhant inscription of Matia Asanta, dated in 1603, which enumerates his achievements, says that he 'led the campaign against the Dravida king of Madura'.⁵

With regard to the first piece of evidence, we are not sure whether the reference is to Virappa Nayaka (1573-96) or to his great-grandson, Muttirvirappa Nayaka I (1609-c. 1613). The latter possibility is confirmed by Raja Udayar's seizure of Seringapatam from the Viceroy Tirumala in 1610 and by the ideas of independence which Muttirvirappa

¹ *Belegu*, vol. II, pp. 136-7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 483.

³ B. K. Aiyangar, *Source*, pp. 322-3.

⁴ *Tirumala's Archaeological Series*, vol. I, pp. 81-82.

⁵ *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1916, p. 148.

cherished beyond a shadow of doubt. The much-discussed battle of Valleprikara does not enable us to ascribe it confidently to 1583.¹ As regards the Siddhout inscription, it is to be noted that the staunch imperialist Ananta is said to have 'protected the flying armies of the Madura chief from destruction'²—a version different from the one given above.

The alleged disloyalty of Madura is sometimes contrasted with the conspicuous and admirable loyalty of Tanjore and with the less noisy but none the less substantial good will of Mysore towards the Empire. But the literature produced by the Tanjore and Mysore courts, breathing sentiments of profound loyalty, has not received the much-needed corrective of Madura literature. Moreover, the Jomti writers of the period say that Mysore was the first rebel against Vijayanagar, that Madura followed her example in the time of Muttuvrappa Nayaka I,³ and that in 1611 the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Jirji, all of them were unpropitious in the payment of their tribute and sometimes insolently refused it.⁴ That Madura was no *gens sui generis* is abundantly clear. Inscriptions from 1505 to 1610 testify to the imperial hold on Madura, but those after 1610 implicitly tell a different story, which is explicitly confirmed by contemporary foreign records.⁵

Thus there were only sporadic instances of minor feudatory revolts to 1610. There is no satisfactory evidence for the view that the battle of Talikota reduced the Empire, 'so solid and compact,' to a number of warring atoms, and introduced 'a state of anarchy.'⁶ Further, it is necessary to avoid the fallacy of 'After Talikota, therefore because of Talikota.' The occasional expression of feudatory restlessness and even disloyalty may be better ascribed to the murder of Rudrdeva Raya by Thirumala's son, noted by Caesar Frederick,—and there is no reason to doubt it⁷—than to the battle of Talikota. Thirumala's difficulties can be understood in that light. His attempt to repopulate the capital⁸ shows that he was not as demoralised as might be

¹ *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, pp. XI-2.

² S. K. Aiyangar, *Source*, pp. 202-3.

³ Bestand, *Les Affaires de Madure*, vol. III, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵ *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 72-3, 80-81, 87, 98-9 and 105.

⁶ Sewall, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 699.

⁷ *Habib's Mysore* (Roverman's Library), vol. III, p. 116.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

supposed by the defeat near Talikōṭa. This is perhaps in harmony with Caesar Frederick's statement that Rāmraṭṭa was betrayed into the hands of his enemies by his two trusted Muhammadan lieutenants.^{*} Tirumala probably thought that the effects of treachery could be undone. The Italian traveller's references to the unwillingness of the barons and nobles to acquiesce in the usurpation of Tirumala and to the consequent existence of 'many kings and great division' in the Empire are descriptive of the first effects of the shock of Badaliva's murder, which is put down by the same authority as the primary cause of the Empire's troubles.[†]

CONCLUSION

The battle of Talikōṭa was undoubtedly the climacteric of Vijayanagar. It necessitated the abandonment of the imperial capital and resulted in the loss of the Raṣabūr Dēśa, and the scone of Hindu Muhammadan conflicts was ultimately pushed one degree of latitude southward. The *Rāmraṭṭa's* reference to Śrīraṅga's restoration of the waning glories of the Empire reminds us of the difficulties of Tirumala, which must have been caused in a large measure by the folly of Badaliva Rāya's murder. Tirumala must have been confronted with the troubles incident to usurpers, which were perhaps intensified by their occurrence shortly after the battle of Talikōṭa. The decisive success of Kriṣṇaśa Rāya and the pliancy of the ubiquitous Rāmraṭṭa's dictatorial might were gone beyond recall. But for nearly half a century after Talikōṭa, the imperial authority, owing to the exertions of Tirumala, Śrīraṅga I, and Veṅkaṭa I, the last in particular, was a living and potent force in South Indian politics, and anti-Muhammadan resistance was offered effectively and even creditably, thus the Empire continuing to render to South India the great services, political and cultural, associated with the other dynasties of Vijayanagar. But some of the results of Talikōṭa could not be undone. The glorious capital was irretrievably lost, and the door was thrown open to the penetration of the Muhammadans further south. Though the power and prestige of the Empire suffered some diminution, yet an almost equal struggle was carried on with the Muhammadan states, and provincial insubordination exhibited itself with potency only after the death of Veṅkaṭa I. Talikōṭa was the climacteric, but not the grand climacteric, of the Vijayanagar Empire.

^{*} *Sketches of Mysore*, (Oxfordman's Library), vol. II, p. 211.

[†] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

Chronology of the Paramara Rulers of Malwa

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AMONG the several Rajput kingdoms into which India was parcelled out in the mediæval times the Paramaras of Malwa were an important one specially because the kings in the line were great patrons of learning and sometimes very learned people themselves. An attempt is made in this article to present their chronology with the help of all their inscriptions so far discovered and their dates found in several MSS.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Uppendra	930-975
Vairjadhina	...	975-1000
Śīyaka (Haraha)	..	1000-1030
Vikapati (Mūṭja)	...	1030-1052

(Śīyaka, a Chahaman king usurped the throne for some time during the reign of Mūṭja).

Sindhurāja ..	.	1052-1058
Bhoja	...	1058-1111
Jayasinha	...	1111-1118
Udayāditya	...	1116-1144
Lakshmadēva .	..	1144-1150
Naravarman	...	1150-1180
Yasovarman	..	1180-1188
Jayavarman	...	1188 For a few months only.
Ajayavarman alias Ballala		1200-1203
Vindhyavarman	...	1203-1233
Śubhavarman	...	1233-1260
Arjunavarman	...	1260-1274
Devagadadeva	...	1274-1294
Jayasinghdeva or Jayasinha II	...	1294-1316

Jayavarman II	1514-1534
Jayasinhha III	1534-1542
Arjunavarman II	1542-1548
Bhoja II	1548-1560
Jayasinhha IV	1560-1575

All the genealogies of the Paramāras of MHV begin with Upendra also called Krishnarāja. After him the following kings¹ are said to have ruled in direct succession up to Vīrkpati-Munja. Varisinhha I, Siyaka I, and Vīrkpati I, Varisinhha II, Siyaka II, or Haraha, and Vīrkpati II or Munja. In my article entitled 'New Light on the early history of the Paramāra rulers of MHV' published in the proceedings of the last Oriental Conference held at Madras, p. 303 ff, I have shown that in certain genealogies of the early Paramāras the three names of Vairisinhha, Siyaka, and Vīrkpati are wrongly repeated. I need not repeat those arguments here. I have also given in the same paper the chronology of the first three rulers of the family: I have shown that the earliest date found of the third ruler of the family, Siyaka, which is also the earliest date² of a Paramāra king so far discovered is V. S. 1005 and his latest date³ is V. S. 1019. The earliest date of Siyaka's successor Vīrkpati-Munja is V. S. 1031.⁴ Hence we can determine the period of the reign of Siyaka from about V. S. 1000 to V. S. 1031. Now allowing approximately twenty-five years to the reign of Siyaka's father Vairisinhha and similar twenty-five years to the reign of Vairisinhha's father Upendra-Krishnarāja, the founder of the family, we can suppose that the family had begun to rule in about V. S. 950. Thus the chronology of the first three rulers is this: Upendra from V. S. 950 to 975, Vairisinhha from 975 to 1000 and Siyaka from 1000 to 1030.

Of Vīrkpati-Munja, who, as said above, succeeded Siyaka, we have so far found only two inscriptions, one as noted above of V. S. 1031 and the other of V. S. 1035 from Ujjain⁵ copper-plates. But we have found a date of V. S. 1080 for him from a MB. called *Shaktasiddhanta*.

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 329 and *the Paramāras of Dhar and MHV* by Léonard and Léon, p. 2.

² From unpublished Kharosthi plates.

³ Dharmapala's *Paleography*, p. 128.

⁴ Indan plates, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. vi, p. 81.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. xiv, p. 183.

*śaśabala*¹ by Amikagati. We know that Muñja was killed by Tailpa² of the Deccan Chālukya family, who is said to have died in V. S. 1054. Hence we have to suppose that Vikpati-Muñja was killed sometime between 1050 and 1054. Let us suppose that he was killed in 1052. The period of his reign can thus be fixed from V. S. 1020 to 1052.

In the Bevaḍi copper plate inscription³ of V. S. 1176 of Chāhamūka Rataspita Śobhita, son of Lakṣmīnaga of the Chāhamūka family of Naḍḍula, is styled as lord of Dhāra. Śobhita's time⁴ as shown by Dr. D. M. Bhandarkar is from V. S. 1076. It is possible that the Chāhamūka king Śobhita defeated Muñja and became for sometime lord of Dhāra between 1052 and 1050. For we know it for certain that Muñja was ruling over Mālava in V. S. 1030 as stated above.

Vikpati-Muñja was succeeded by his younger brother Śindhurāja. Of this king no dated record is found. A fragment⁵ of a stone inscription is recently found at Dharanpuri in Dhar State which seems to have been engraved in the time of Navasāhasāhadeva which, as we know, from Parimala's *Navasāhasāhadeva Charita*⁶ is the other name of Śindhurāja. But this fragmentary inscription is of no chronological use to us. From some inscriptions and *Pratāpāvalī* of the Chālukyas of Gujarat we see⁷ that Śindhurāja was killed by the Gujarat Chālukya king Chākravartī. According to Gujarat chronicles Chākravartī reigned from V. S. 1032 to 1066. So Śindhurāja must have been killed sometime before 1032. We have reason to suppose that Śindhurāja's reign was short. Let us suppose that he reigned from V. S. 1052 to 1032.

Of Bhaja, who succeeded his father Śindhurāja, six inscriptions have been found: two copper plate inscriptions both dated V. S. 1076 (one in the month of Māgha and the other in Bhādrapada) are found in Bhaurwār⁸ and Bapnā⁹ respectively. A third copper plate

¹ p. 222.

² *Early History of the Chālukyas* (Hindi) by R. B. Ghaṭṭa, p. 75.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xi, p. 222.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵ Unpublished.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, 1927, p. 322.

⁷ *Agarwal, Pratihara Prabhā*, vol. i, pp. 121-4.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xi, p. 12.

⁹ Unpublished.

grant¹ found in Indore is dated V.S. 1078. An inscription dated V.S. 1091 is found on the pedestal of a Saraswati image² now preserved in the British Museum but which originally must have belonged to the now famous Bhoja Śālā at Dhār. A copper-plate inscription, dated V.S. 1103 is found at Tīlakvāṇ³ in the Haroda State which purports to belong to the time of Bhoja. The sixth inscription from a copper plate grant found at Kalavāṇa⁴ is unfortunately undated. From a M.S. of *Kaṭauriyāṇa*⁵ also we get a date V.S. 1099 for Bhoja. We thus see that the earliest date⁶ so far discovered of Bhoja is 1078 and the latest is 1103. The earliest date of Jayasīkha⁷ who succeeded Bhoja is 1112. We thus see that the dates of Bhoja above-mentioned are of little use to determine the period of his reign. We can only say that he died sometime before 1112. Dr. Bühler⁸ supposes that he ascended the throne in 1067, but according to tradition Bhoja⁹ ruled for 55 years 7 months and 3 days. Though such accounts are not always true we can suppose that Bhoja ruled for 55 years from V.S. 1036 to 1111.

Bhoja was succeeded by Jayasīkha whose relation with him is not known. Of Jayasīkha only two inscriptions have been found; one of V.S. 1112 as noted above and the other of V.S. 1116 from Paṭhar¹⁰ in the Bilaswār State, discovered by R. B. Gaurishanker Ojha. The earliest inscription¹¹ of the next ruler Udayāditya is dated 1116. Hence it is clear that Jayasīkha died in 1116 and in the same year Udayāditya succeeded him. Jayasīkha therefore reigned from 1111 to 1116.

Of Udayāditya four inscriptions have been found; one as noted above is dated 1116 and is found in Udayapur, the other¹² of 1137 is

¹ *Jat. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 23.

² *Indica*, 1894.

³ *Proc. First Ori. Conf.*, vol II, Library Miscellaneous, vi.

⁴ *Ann. Rep. A. S. N. C.*, 1901-02, p. 118.

⁵ *Jat. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 202.

⁶ In *Ann. Ger.* I, i 189, *op. cit.* is given a date V.S. 1078 for Bhoja. But its source is unfortunately not so far found.

⁷ *Jat. Ant.*, vol. II, p. 49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 202.

⁹ *Bhoja's 25 Pratihara References (Hindi)* vol. I, p. 206.

¹⁰ Unpublished. See *Ann. Rep. Nat. Mus.*, 1915-17.

¹¹ *J. A. O. B.*, vol. vii, p. 129.

¹² *Jat. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 66.

also from Udayapur, the third¹ of 1143 is from Kāthpāṭya and the fourth inscription² is also found in Udayapur, but it gives us no date. Udayāditya was succeeded by his elder son Lakṣmadeva, but no date or inscription is found of him. Lakṣmadeva was succeeded by his younger brother Naravarman whose earliest inscription recently discovered by Mr. Garde is dated V.S. 1151.³ Thus between 1143 and 1151 we have to accommodate the remaining period of the reign of Udayāditya and the reign of Lakṣmadeva and possibly also the earlier portion of the reign of Naravarman. We may suppose that Udayāditya died in 1144, his reign having begun in 1116 and that his son Lakṣmadeva ruled from 1144 to 1150.

Of Naravarman as many as nine inscriptions have been discovered, four of which are fragmentary⁴ and give us no dates. Of the remaining five the earliest of 1151 is as said above from Udayapura, the second of 1161 from Nagpur,⁵ the third of 1154 from Madhukaragadh⁶ and the fourth of 1187 is from a copper-plate grant⁷ recently discovered by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the collection of the late Dr. De Kunha in Bombay. The fifth inscription, dated V.S. 1190, is mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer*,⁸ but with all my enquiries the whereabouts of the inscription are not known.⁹ But we have found a date V.S. 1190 for Naravarman from a MS. of Manuvarman's *Rajatarāṅgīnī*. The earliest date of the next ruler Yaśovarman is V.S. 1199 from his Dohr plates.¹⁰ We can therefore without any difficulty fix the period of Naravarman's rule from V.S. 1150 to 1190.

Of Yaśovarman three inscriptions are found, one as said above of V.S. 1191, the other of 1193 from Ujain plates¹¹ and the third and

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, 1814, p. 25.

² The first half of this inscription giving the genealogy of the Paramaras up to Udayāditya was discovered long before and published in *Sp. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 225. The other half is this year discovered by Mr. Garde, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Gwalior.

³ Unpublished.

⁴ From Ujjain, Dhar, Ua and Balas, all unpublished.

⁵ *Sp., Ind.*, vol. 5, p. 322.

⁶ *Transactions of R. A. S.*, vol. 1, p. 226.

⁷ *Ann. Sp. A. S. N. C.*, 1890-91, p. 84.

⁸ Vol. 1, i, p. 173.

⁹ It is probably a mistake for a date found in a MS. noticed below.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiv, p. 262.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

the latest of 1199 from *Sākurpīṭīan*.¹ Yaśovarman is said to have been succeeded by Jayavarman, but no inscription is known of his. A copperplate grant of Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman² is found of V. 8 1200. So this is clear that Yaśovarman ceased to reign in V. 8. 1199. The period of his reign can be thus easily fixed from V. 8. 1190 to 1199.

After the death of Yaśovarman there was a great confusion in MĪṭvā and the chronology of his successors cannot be easily fixed. The records which are found lead us to believe that Yaśovarman had three sons Jayavarman, Ajayavarman and Lakṣmīvarman. We have reason to suppose that the eldest son Jayavarman succeeded him in due course in the year 1199 when his father died. But within a few months of his accession he was deposed by his younger brother Ajayavarman. But the third son Lakṣmīvarman resenting this act of Ajayavarman's, but not being able to depose him, only seized some territory and upholding the claims of Jayavarman founded a parallel line.³ In this line besides Lakṣmīvarman two rulers Harishchandra-varman and Udayavarman ruled as direct descendants. Of Lakṣmīvarman a copper-plate grant of V. 8. 1200 is found, of Harishchandra-varman, a copper plate grant⁴ of V. 8. 1236 and of Udayavarman, a copper-plate grant⁵ of V. 8. 1256 is found. These grants are not sufficient to prepare their chronology.

To add to this confusion a king named Balhila is said to have been the ruler of MĪṭvā sometime after the death of Yaśovarman as is evidenced by some inscriptions and *Prabandh* dealing with the history of the Chalukyas of Gujarat.⁶ Balhildeva, king of MĪṭvā, is said to have joined the party of the Chāhamāna king Arjorāja of Śimbar and the Paramātrakya Vikramāditya of Chandravatī which opposed the accession of the Chaulukya Kumtāpāla to the Gujarat throne. Balhila and his party were defeated and Balhila after a life of wandering was captured and executed by Yaśodharavala, an ascetic of Kumtāpāla. In none of the genealogies of the Paramāras of MĪṭvā the name of Balhila is found. We do not know to which family

¹ Unpublished, see *Ann. Rep. A.S.F.C.* 1904-5, No. 2227.

² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiv, p. 242.

³ See *Prasannatya of Dhar and Ajmer* by Luard and Lolo.

⁴ *J.A.S.B.*, vol. viii, p. 725.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xvi, p. 244.

⁶ *Prasannatya of Dhar and Ajmer*, p. 24.

he belonged. Under these circumstances I may suggest that Ajayavarmā, who as said above, usurped the throne of Mĕjvā by removing his elder brother, might have assumed this name. Now the Vadnagar inscription¹ of the Chalukya Kumārapāla, which is dated V. S. 1208 refers in v. 13 to a victory over Ballādeva of Mĕjvā and adds that the defeated king's head was suspended at the gate of Kumārapāla. We have, therefore, to suppose that Ballāla or Ajayavarmā must have been killed sometime before 1207. We may suppose that the event took place in 1203. Thus the reign of Ajayavarmā or Ballāla extended from V. S. 1200 to 1203.

We have now to accommodate between 1205 when Ajayavarmā *alias* Ballāla was killed and 1267 the earliest date² found of Arjunavarmā the reigns of Vinḍhyavarmā and Subhataavarmā and also a portion of the reign of Arjunavarmā. This has to be done by rough calculation only. We shall, therefore, suppose that Vinḍhyavarmā ruled from V. S. 1203 to 1233 and Subhataavarmā ruled from V. S. 1233 to 1260.

Of Arjunavarmā besides the Pipiliṅgarī plates of 1267 three more inscriptions are known. Two copper-plate inscriptions³ dated 1270 and 1273 are found in Bhopāl and the third inscription on stone dated V. S. 1273 (*Śaka* 1136) is found at Dharampur⁴ in Dhar State. The Bhoja Śākā inscription containing a portion of the drama *Prīṭhivīraṭ* by Madana⁵ discovered by Mr. Lale in Dhar belongs to the time of Arjunavarmā but it gives us no date. Arjunavarmā's death must have taken place sometime between 1273 and 1275. For in an inscription of V. S. 1275 found at Harasindha⁶ in Central Province *Paramarāja* (*Śaka Mahārājāditya* *Paramaraja* Devapāla) is said to be the ruler of Dhārṅgarī. We shall therefore suppose that Arjunavarmā died in V. S. 1274. His reign thus extended from V. S. 1260 to 1274.

Arjunavarmā was succeeded by Devapāla, who was the younger brother of Mahārājakumāra Udayavarmā of the parallel line founded, as said above, by Harisendravarman. Thus in Devapāla both the families were combined and Mĕjvā began once more to be governed by one ruler after a period of seventy four years.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 288.

² *J. A. O. S.*, vol. vii, pp. 21 and 22.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, vol. v, p. 278.

⁴ Unpublished.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, pp. 103-12.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 22, p. 211 and *J. A. O. S.*, vol. vi, p. 228.

Of Devapāladēva four inscriptions have been found, the earliest one, as noted above, is of V.S. 1275, the second of 1282 is from Māndhātā plates¹ the third,² of 1298 is on a stone from Udayapur and the fourth³ dated V.S. 1308 (or 1299)⁴ is on a stone also found in Udayapur. Two dates are found from M.B. referring to the reign of Devapāladēva, one of 1285 from Śāśādhara's *Itihasa/Vishāsa* and the other of 1292 from *Trikhastiyāyiti* by the same author. This second date found in the M.B. is important for it is as will be seen the latest date found of the king. The earliest known date of the next ruler Jayasinhha II is V. S. 1298 found in a M.B.⁵ of *Karmavipakṣasūtra*. This enables us to fix the period of Devapāla's reign from V.S. 1274 to 1294.

Of Jayasinhha II, also called Jayatugldeva, the earliest date is 1298 as noted above. The second date also found in a M.B. of *Dharmasūtras* by Śāśādhara is 1300. The next known dates are 1311 from an inscription⁶ found in Udayapur, 1312 from an inscription found in Rāhātgrāh⁷ in C. P. and [13] 14 from an unpublished inscription found in Atru⁸ in Kōṣi State. This is the latest date known of Jayasinhha II. He was succeeded by Jayavarman II whose earliest date known is 1314 from a stone inscription found at Mori⁹ in the Holar State. We can therefore easily decide that Jayasinhha II died in V.S. 1314 and Jayavarman II succeeded in the same year, Jayasinhha's reign, therefore, extended from V.S. 1294 to 1314.

Of Jayavarman II only two inscriptions are found, one of V.S. 1314 as noted above and the other of V.S. 1317 from Māndhātā.¹⁰ The earliest date of his successor Jayasinhha III is 1323.¹¹ We can therefore say that Jayavarman II ruled from V. S. 1314 to 1324.

Of Jayasinhha III only one inscription of V.S. 1323 noticed above is found. But a M.B. of *Shūṭasāgara* gives him a very useful date

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 123.

² Noted in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 22.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See Cat. of M.B. in Jalesore Museum, *C. O. S.*, p. 25.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 24.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Unpublished. See *Ann. Rep. A.S. P. C.*, 1905-6, p. 26, and H. B. Giff's *Indian Paleogeography*, p. 123, n. 7.

⁸ Unpublished. See *Ann. Rep. A.S. P. C.*, 1907-8.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 127.

¹⁰ Unpublished. Noted in *List of N. Inscriptions*, No. 222.

of V.S. 1340. The next known date of a Paramara ruler is V.S. 1366 of the time of Jayasinha IV.¹ But R. B. Ganeshankar Ojha has shown that between Jayasinha III and Jayasinha IV two kings—Arjunavarman II and Bhoja II had ruled over Malva.² He has found a stone inscription at Kurvili Kupda in Kotâ State of V.S. 1343 which states that the Châhamâna king Hamira of Nanthambhor defeated the Malvi king named Arjunadeva. Secondly in the *Hemirâvâhâbhaya* (ix 8-18) it is stated that Hamira defeated Bhoja, king of Dhar, who was equal in power to the great Bhoja. These statements show that sometime before 1343 the date of the Kurvili Kupda inscription Hamira defeated Arjunavarman II and that sometime before 1336 when Hamira is said to have died he defeated Bhoja II. We shall therefore approximately prepare the chronology of these later Paramara rulers thus: Jayasinha III from V.S. 1324 to 1343; Arjunavarman II from V.S. 1343 to 1348; Bhoja II from V.S. 1348 to 1366 and lastly Jayasinha IV from V.S. 1366 to 1373.

Jayasinha IV was the last ruler of the family. By the end of the fourteenth century the Muhammadans most probably under Muhammad Tughlak completely seized Malva and ended the Paramara family which had so gloriously ruled over Malva for four hundred and twenty-five years.

¹ Noted in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 84.

² *History of Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 303-4, *Ann. Rep. Rajasthan Museum*, 1930-31, p. 2.

The Forged Bonds of the Nabob of the Carnatic

IV

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE C. G. H. FAWCETT, I C.B.

IN an article published in this Journal last August, an account was given of a conspiracy against David Halliburton, a member of the Board of Revenue at Madras, in which the prime mover was Avadbanum Pampiah, Brahmin, the influential Quaker of the Acting Governor, John Holland, and his brother Edward John Holland. The plot led in 1789 to Halliburton's removal from his office and banishment to a small frontier post, but he eventually succeeded in getting reinstated; and in 1792 Pampiah was convicted of conspiracy and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. A Madras correspondent pointed out that Pampiah's name was introduced by Sir Walter Scott in his novel *The Surgeon's Daughter*. His career is of some interest; and I have recently been able to gather some further information about him, which throws further light on his intriguing activities.

In the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society at Bombay there are some ponderous tomes, containing Parliamentary Papers of 1803 to 1831 relating to the affairs of the Nabobs of the Carnatic and their immense debts. This is a subject on which much might be written; and any history of Madras would be incomplete without a description of the intense interest and controversy that it engendered both in that Presidency and in England. There had been a settlement of some of the debts between 1784 and 1804, in which no less than five millions sterling were paid away, and whereby many of the Company's servants acquired large fortunes.¹ But there still remained large claims of private creditors, and in 1805 Commissioners were appointed to investigate them and make awards binding both on the Company and the creditors. The Commissioners in London had under them three Commissioners in Madras to make investigations there and report to them. These were members of the Company's service specially sent from Bengal, so as to be disinterested in the issue

¹ *Whistler's Short History of India*, p. 221.

of the claims.¹ How necessary this was is clear from the extent to which the Company's servants and other British subjects in Madras had lent money to the Nabob, or otherwise invested in their bonds, in spite of the most stringent orders against it, culminating in 1794 and 1797 in Parliamentary prohibitions on the subject.² Some idea of the enormous speculation of this kind that even highly placed officers indulged in can be gained from the fact that among those who held such bonds were a Judge of the Supreme Court, the Advocate-General, the Solicitor for the Company and the Madras Commissioners' own Registrar, Mr. Brodie.³

It was notorious that a large number of forged bonds in the names of various Nabobs of the Carnatic were in circulation in the Presidency. Thus a Mr. Babington is stated to have collected bonds for above two crores of pagodas (£2,000,000), which were offered for sale at prices less than the charge for brokerage on the nominal amounts of the bonds.⁴ This led to an agitation by the holders of genuine bonds, who feared a depletion of the funds available for their repayment, if spurious claims succeeded. On their complaint, the Madras Government in 1806 appointed a Committee to enquire into these alleged forgeries. It reported that they undoubtedly existed; that the Nabob's books had been tampered with to support fabricated bonds; and that Avadhantham Pampiah, who was a claimant to a very large amount, had instigated such fabrication. On the other hand, the Committee rejected the charges of fraud and forgery that had been brought by Pampiah and others against one Reddy Row, an officer of the Nabob, who had been appointed to aid the Commissioners in their examination of the Durbar books.⁵ The Committee refer in this report to Pampiah as a person whose character and intrigues were well known to the Company and the Board of Directors.⁶

Pampiah's interest in the matter mainly arose from his having 'farmed' a part of the Tinnevely District for some three years. In this he was associated with Thomas Parry, a Military Officer in the service of the Nabob.⁷ His formal agreement with the Nabob about

¹ Carnatic Parliamentary Paper, 1811, p. 251, para 15, p. 257.

² *Whiston*, p. 260.

³ C.P.P. 1812, No. III, pp. 242, 246; 1811, No. IV, p. 24, and 1814, pp. 28-32.

⁴ C.P.P. 1811, No. III, pp. 41, 68.

⁵ C.P.P. 1811, pp. 41-45.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁷ C.P.P. 1812, p. 25.

it was in 1798;¹ and he became a claimant for no less than twenty-six lakhs of pagodas (£1,040,000) under alleged bonds of 1798 to 1798.² He and Reddy Row were probably at first associated in manufacturing some of the forged notes,³ but in 1808 they had become bitter enemies. There was evidence that Pampiah was anxious to secure the reinstatement of one Subba Row, a dismissed employee of the Nabob, in order to facilitate further fabrication in support of some of his forged bonds; and with that object he tried to bribe the Nabob, but was thwarted by Reddy Row.⁴ The latter was instrumental in getting the Government to enquire into the alleged forgery by Pampiah and Subba Row of a bond for 48,000 pagodas. This was referred to the same Committee for report, and on July 11, 1808, they recommended a prosecution.⁵ On July 20, Government passed orders accordingly.⁶ Meanwhile the Madras Commissioners on July 11, had started their formal enquiries. The first claim that they took up for investigation was one on a bond for 38,500 pagodas put forward by Reddy Row. This was done because, it was proposed to employ him and certain other Durbar officers 'in a ministerial capacity of a very delicate and confidential nature', and it was therefore thought desirable 'to determine, as soon as possible, the amount of their personal interest in the bonds.'⁷ Pampiah on July 8, lodged an objection that this bond was a forgery,⁸ but the Commissioners rejected it as time barred and held that the charge of forgery was false and malicious. They accordingly recommended an additional prosecution against Pampiah for conspiracy.⁹

At this stage, things certainly looked very bad for Pampiah, but he and his friends—he had an influential backing of Europeans, including his old associate Perry—were not easily beaten. On July 29 they forestalled the proposed prosecution by bringing a charge of conspiracy against Reddy Row and Ananda Row, the writer of the

¹ C.F.P. 1807-10, p. 870.

² C.F.P. No. III, p. 878, C.F.P. Report of the Commissioners, 1807-10, pp. 401, 476.

³ C.F.P. 1804, p. 81, last para.

⁴ C.F.P. 1811, No. III, pp. 42, 45, 46, 48, etc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 870, para 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 884.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 287, 290.

bond for 35,500 pagodas, which was then still under the Commissioners' investigation.¹ The two accused were committed for trial by a Bench Magistrate, Mr Maitland. He was one of the supporters of Parneph, and was considered by Government and the Commissioners to have been swayed by him, but he had before him the sworn evidence of two alleged eye-witnesses of the forgery, and probably acted, as he subsequently declared, in the conscientious conviction that considerable frauds had been committed by Reddy Row and others.²

The trial took place before Sir Thomas Strange, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and a jury. The accused were defended by the Company's law-officers and the Judge summed up strongly against the prosecution. But on December 8, 1808, the jury brought in a verdict of 'Guilty.'³ A few days later the grand jury sanctioned the indictment of Mr Batley, a Secretary of the Nabob, for perjury in his evidence at the trial, and of Batley and Reddy Row for conspiracy and fraud. The trial of Batley for perjury took place in January 1809; and again, in spite of his being defended by the Company's law-officers and a summing up in his favour by the Chief Justice the jury brought in a verdict of 'Guilty.'⁴ The Chief Justice, however took the exceptional course of not passing any sentence upon Reddy Row and Batley, and released them on their own recognizances pending a reference of the cases to the King. A similar course was adopted by him upon the jury's conviction of Batley and Reddy Row at a third trial in March 1809. His two letters on the subject are among the papers I have mentioned.⁵ He there states that he believed the accused to be innocent and that he therefore submitted their cases to His Majesty not as objects of his mercy, but as suitors for his justice.⁶ The Advocate-General moved for a new trial in the first case against Reddy Row on the ground that the verdict was against the weight of the evidence and the opinion of the Judge, who tried the indictment; but in view of the action taken by the Chief Justice, it was subsequently abandoned.⁷ The motion was stoutly opposed

¹ C.F.P. 1811, No. III, p. 28; C.F.P. 1814, p. 31.

² C.F.P. 1814, p. 31.

³ C.F.P. 1811, No. III, pp. 117-169.

⁴ C.F.P. 1811, No. IV, pp. 32-161.

⁵ C.F.P. 1811, No. IV.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ C.F.P. 1811, No. III, p. 205; No. IV, p. 26.

by Mr. Marsh, the counsel for the prosecution; and an address was presented to him by some twenty English inhabitants of Madras, calling him 'the eloquent advocate of the Rights of Justice and complimenting him upon his able argument against the motion.'¹ On the other hand some other English merchants wrote to the Commissioners, expressing regret at the obstruction that had been offered to their investigations.²

The Commissioners had undoubtedly been much troubled by the action of Pausah's supporters in obtaining the intervention of the Supreme Court, and in February and March 1806 they appealed to the Government of Madras for protection.³ They naturally took the view that the jurists' verdicts were prejudiced and against the weight of the evidence, in which they were supported by the opinion of Sir Thomas Strange. The Madras Government fully concurred and took prompt steps for the removal of some of the persons who had—they held—been obstructing the Commissioners. The Magistrate, Mr Maitland, was removed from his office.⁴ Mr. Parry, who had been permitted to reside in India only so long as his conduct was unobjectionable, was ordered to proceed to England at the first opportunity.⁵ Mr Roebuck, a partner of Mr. Maitland and Mint Master at Madras, was transferred to Visagapatam, where he died, a broken man, shortly afterwards.⁶ The proceedings were reported to the Governor-General in Council, who endorsed the action taken by the Madras Government and even proposed that an Act of Parliament should be passed to transfer from the Supreme Court at Madras to that of Bengal the cognizance of all questions connected with the claims against the Nabobs of the Carnatic under investigation by the Commissioners.⁷ This proposal was not adopted by the authorities in England, but the Court of Directors otherwise fully approved of the view and action taken by the Governments of Madras and Calcutta.⁸

The opposing addresses to Marsh and the Commissioners that I have mentioned illustrate the factions that had arisen over this question.

¹ C.P.F. III, No. III, p. 287.

² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 288, 291-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 295-6, 298. He is referred to as a man of great gifts and excellent disposition. C.P.F. III, No. III, p. 289 and 294, p. 6. He was a keen supporter of the Madras cause; see Duple's *The Nabobs of Madras*, pp. 128, 129.

⁷ C.P.F., p. 251, Part 36, pp. 298, 294.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

As remarked by the Court of Directors, the whole settlement of Fort St. George was 'convulsed' by these disputes,¹ and there must have been an atmosphere of conflict and excitement not usually connected with that station. This discord extended even to the Supreme Court and the Governor-in-Council. Mr. Justice Sullivan, to whom I have already alluded as a creditor of the Nabob, rather gratuitously, delivered a judgment disagreeing with some rulings of the Chief Justice in the Sessions cases,² while Mr. Petrie, a Member of Council, who appears to have uncessantly opposed the Governor, wrote a strong minute against any Government interference in the matter.³ In addition to the removal of civil officers already mentioned, there was in May 1809 a similar punishment imposed on a number of officers in the Madras Army, who were suspended by the Madras Government for the acute insubordination that had given trouble for sometime.⁴ In a letter that was written by Lord Minto to the Chairman of the East India Company in 1809, he deploras the disorders, civil and military, which then disturbed the Government of Fort St. George, as being the only exception to the tranquillity of India.⁵ The view of the authorities in India that the juries' verdicts were erroneous was finally endorsed by His Majesty, who granted pardons to the three convicts. These were apparently resolved sometime towards the end of 1810.⁶

If the story had ended here, then undoubtedly there would have been strong grounds for that view. But in the meanwhile there had been some sensational events at Madras. In June 1810 Reddy Row poisoned himself.⁷ This was apparently due to anticipation that his guilt would shortly be revealed and that the powerful protection he had received from the Commissioners and Government would be withdrawn. Some of the Durbar officers, who had been sent with Reddy Row to aid the Commissioners, confessed their participation in extensive fabrication of the records, which affected the claims of Reddy Row among others. These confessions were made to Mr. Brodie, the

¹ C.F.F. III, No. III, p. 277.

² *Ibid.*, p. 282, No. IV, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 283. Cf. Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India*, vol. IV, p. 128. He was removed from the Council by the Court of Directors in September 1810; see C.F.F. III, No. V, p. 1.

⁴ Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India*, vol. IV, pp. 126-128; C.F.F. III, No. V, pp. 15, 25, etc.

⁵ C.F.F. III, No. III, p. 282.

⁶ C.F.F. III, pp. 4, 20, etc.

⁷ C.F.F. III, No. III, p. 287.

Registrar of the Commissioners. But he concealed them for some months, and even went so far as to suggest that he should be authorised to institute an investigation into the frauds committed by the durbars' servants and others in forging bonds and falsifying records. This naturally created the suspicion¹ that he wanted to conceal frauds, in which he and his friends were interested, and it was proposed to remove and prosecute him.² It was only because of an accidental slip on his part that the concealment came to the knowledge of the Commissioners in December 1910, and further enquiries showed that their confidence in the innocence of Reddy Row was completely misplaced. The result was that on the very day that the pardons were read out in the Sessions Court, Ananda Row, the co-accused of Reddy Row, was charged with a further fraud and fabrication and was eventually convicted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.³ The Government of India in 1812 acknowledged that the verdict convicting Reddy Row had proved to be right, although they still maintained that it was against the weight of the evidence.⁴

In the end, therefore, the protagonists in this controversy, Messrs. Abbot, Maitland and Parry, were shown to have been fully justified in their complaints that the Commissioners had improperly supported Reddy Row. They had a hard fight, and bombarded Government with letters for over four years. Their protégé Pampiah escaped his threatened prosecution by his death in January 1809,⁵ and the indictment against his co-accused was abandoned in May of the same year.⁶ That there had been forgeries to an enormous extent is conclusively shown by the result of the enquiries of the Commissioners in England. Up to February 12, 1821, they disallowed claims to the extent of 26½ million pounds out of a total of about 24 millions.⁷ It is interesting to note that they found most of Pampiah's bonds to be forgeries or to have been fully satisfied, on the other hand his many creditors obtained awards on some of his bonds for over £125,000.⁸ Similarly all Reddy Row's bonds (including the one for 38,300 pagodas in respect of which he was convicted) were found to be forgeries or

¹ C.F.P. 1814, pp. 25, 26.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴ C.F.P., 1811, No. III, p. 294.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁶ C.F.P. 17th Report of the Commissioners, p. 68.

⁷ C.F.P. Report of the Commissioners, 1807-21, pp. 681, 684, 694-7, 202; Report of the Commissioners, 1821, pp. 12 and 13.

without consideration, and his heirs appear to have obtained merely £441 on account of arrears of pay due to his brother Ananda Row.¹

The papers I have mentioned throw some further light upon the two Hollands, whom Pampish served as Dubash. Mr. Charles Darke, a merchant of Madras, who had failed in 1777,² wrote in 1786 to John Holland, asking him to intervene with the Nabob for the payment of his debt as he was in great need of money. This letter contained some remarkable allegations that attracted the notice of the Court of Directors, and in 1791 they called for a report about them.³ In a letter of December 23, 1791, Mr. Darke makes some startling accusations against the Hollands. He says, for instance, that John Holland was given a lakh of pagodas as a bribe for ordering a detachment to help the Nabob in some military operations, and that his brother extorted a further large sum by intimidation. He mentions that a Committee was appointed by the Government to investigate the charges against the Hollands, and that the Nabob adduced evidence before it that he had through Pampish paid them over four lakhs of pagodas. The papers, however, afford no evidence that either of the two Hollands was eventually prosecuted. Edward John Holland, who had been summarily deported by Lord Cornwallis in April 1790,⁴ is shown by a diary of the Hon'ble C. A. Bruce, Lord Elgin's brother, to have been at Vienna in 1800.⁵ It might have been thought that he was keeping out of England for fear of prosecution; but these papers make it probable that in May 1801 he had come to London in connexion with his claims against the Nabob.⁶ In 1816 an award was made for £18,258 in his favour and he is there described as 'of Devonshire place in the Parish of Saint Marylebone in the County of Middlesex.'⁷ Therefore the surmise that I made in my previous article that both the brothers managed to escape the due penalty of their misdeeds seems borne out by this further evidence.

P.S.—My acknowledgments are due to the Editor of the *Times of India* for permitting me to republish the above article, which appeared in its issues of January 19 and 20, 1927.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 518, 519, 449, 17th Report of the Commissioners, 1821, p. 26.

² Dodsley's *7th Nabob of Madras*, p. 137.

³ C. P. F. 1860, pp. 153-4.

⁴ *Elphinstone's Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 220.

⁵ *Journal of Indian History*, August 1820, pp. 105, 107.

⁶ C. P. F. 1860, p. 148.

⁷ C. P. F. Twelfth Report of the Commissioners, 1827, p. 28.

Reviews

THE OCEAN OF STORY

[*The Ocean of Story*—Being C. H. Tawney's translation of *Svensson's Kallio Serif Stigora*, now edited with Introduction, fresh explanatory Notes, and terminal Essay, by N. M. Penzer, vol. v, 324, pp. London: Chas. I. Sewyer, Ltd., 1935.]

THIS new volume of Mr. Penzer's great work may be called the *Pantheistria* volume, as it contains, *inter alia*, Somadeva's interesting extract from the *Pantheistria* and as this circumstance has caused Mr. Penzer to discuss in his first Appendix the history of the *Pantheistria* in India and the rest of the world, which discussion has been supplemented by Prof. Edgerton, of the University of Pennsylvania,¹ the author of *Pantheistria Reconstructed*, with a comprehensive genealogical table of works derived from the *Pantheistria*, and by Sir A. Denison Ross with a scholarly foreword on the Persian versions of that Indian collection of tales. A special instance of the migration of fables is contained in Mr. Penzer's second Appendix on an Indian Reprint of the Tale of Rampelina, which story seems to have found its way from Egypt to India in Ptolemaic times. The index is very copious and conveys a good idea of the many interesting subjects treated in this volume of the *Ocean of Story*.

WIMBORNE

J. JOLLY.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY JOHN COMPANY

BY

SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.B.E.

[The Bodley Head, London, 12s. 6d.]

GREAT historians fall under two categories—the specialist who throws light on a great event or a great period, and the generaliser who by a new synthesis interprets the whole course of a nation's or world's history. In these days of swelling historical material, the specialist is carrying everything before him. A great French historian has

¹ Now of Yale—Ed.

specialised for a whole lifetime on the history of the French Revolution, while a great English historian's studies are mainly concentrated on the Civil War period in English History, and these are two of the greatest historians of our time.

The book before us is by one such specialist who has selected for himself a great subject. Sir William Foster has worked for more than thirty years in the archives of the India Office, and to-day he is the Historiographer to that historic Office. During a busy lifetime he has edited with marvellous care and scrupulous many volumes of records of the East India Company, and now he is engaged in writing independent treatises on the history of that great Company. Three years ago he published an entertaining volume on the East India House which was well received. In the present book we have an equally attractive collection of sketches dealing with the domestic history of the Company from its beginnings in 1600 to its dissolution in 1858.

The history of the East India Company is a fascinating subject in many ways and has a great deal of romantic interest attached to it. That Company was incorporated in 1600 for trading with the East Indies, but it eventually became the sovereign of an empire unequalled in world's history. The immediate object of the Company was to procure from India pepper (a much needed commodity in those days) without resorting to the Dutch who had charged exorbitant monopoly prices on it in Europe. England had already heard about the great possibilities of Indian trade, mainly from the letters of the English Jesuit, Fr. Stephens (the author of *Arise Portugal*, a Marathi Classic) but the menace of the Dutch monopoly was needed to supply the motive power to launch forth such a difficult enterprise. In course of time, the English Company not only shattered the trade monopoly of the Dutch and other European nations but was subsequently compelled to take sides in the political quarrels of the native potentates, and this eventually led to the expansion of the Company's dominions in India and to the final supremacy of Britain in the whole sub-continent. Such a singular achievement by a few Englishmen abroad had its natural reaction on the history of their mother country. In the seventeenth century the English policy towards Holland and other European powers was swayed mainly in the interests of England's eastern trade, whilst in the eighteenth, the support of the Company's

possessions in India engrossed the attention of the leading statesmen in England. Directly or indirectly her Indian trade increased the wealth of England and enhanced her prestige in Europe. Nor was this all. English society was affected by this in many ways. The humble writer whom the Company sent into India often returned as a proud 'Nabob' ready to buy off his lord's manor and he (or his son) was found not unworthy of the hand of his lord's daughter. The far-reaching social and economic results of the Indian connection have not been properly explored by competent scholars, but it is a subject well worth the attention of historians like the author under review.

Sir William's sketches relate mainly to the domestic history of the Company. They deal with details, not with general politics or international complications. The author's object is evident from his motto—

I don't pretend to paint the vast
And complex picture of the past,
* * * * *
For detail, detail, sweet I care
(*Cu superbo, et monumentis*)

But the details of Sir William's sketches are presented in such a charming manner that the most casual reader will not be wearied.

The East India House, whether located in Smythe's house in Philpot Lane or in the commodious Crosby House or in the palatial mansions in Londonhall Street, was one of the attractions of the city of London and played an important part in the history of London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In that place were held the meetings of the Honourable Court of Directors, and these meetings attracted considerable attention since most of the financiers in London were in one way or other interested in the Company's profits and dividends. To the ordinary man, it was the warehouse of eastern commodities, strange spices and beverages, and to the women folk 'whose fashions were their passions' the India House was the repository of choice dresses and elegant silks and muslins which were so popular with them in those days. The Company had not only vast warehouses but for some time had its own dockyard at Blackwall. It employed numerous people in these places as well as in its Indian factories, and numerous people in and around the City were considerably interested in the Company's fortunes,

In many other ways did the Company attract the curiosity of the London people. It introduced into England all sorts of tropical beasts and fowls, elephants and monkeys "prattling birds called mynas", zebras and rhinoceroses. Charles II took great delight in these outlandish birds and beasts, and the Company took special pains to procure such objects for the royal menagerie and aviaries, then located in St. James Park. Even more interesting than this was the first appearance of coloured human beings in England. Two ambassadors from the King of Benam visited England in 1682, and were received with great pomp in London. Banquets were given in their honour and on their departure they were knighted as a mark of royal honour. To John Evelyn (diarist) they 'resembled in countenance some sort of monkeys' and they appeared no better to the contemporary poet, John Dryden.

The Company was solicitous for the well being of its employers and pensioners. It maintained a hospital and chapel at Poplar for the good of those who suffered physical hurt in the course of its service. The hospital was well looked after and provision was made for the spiritual as well as bodily well being of its inmates. Since 1800, the Company maintained also a college at Halesbury for the training of young men recruited for Indian services. All these institutions changed hands at, or soon after, the assumption by the Crown of the direct administration of India, in 1858. Halesbury College still stands in the delightful County of Hertfordshire, a monument to the wealth and magnificence of the great Company that founded it, and still bears on its walls the portraits of Thomas Malthus and other great men connected with that institution. But to-day it is an ordinary public school and has no connection whatever with India.

The author sketches also the lives of various persons connected with the Company—of John Woodhall, its venerable Surgeon-General, of John Deane, the brave sailor who went through strange vicissitudes in fulfilment of what he deemed his duty to the Company, of John Bruce, the Company's first historiographer, and last but not least, of Warren Hastings, who resumed British dominion in India at a time of sore trial.

Indeed Sir William has, true to his word, cared for detail, and we can assure him that his details are not superfluous but necessary, all the more so because he has woven them into a fine fabric, delightful

as well as enduring. With his sympathetic insight, thorough knowledge and delicacy of expression, Foster has made as interesting as romance what might have been dry-as-dust in the pages of a less gifted writer. His book therefore will interest not only the antiquarian and the biographer, but also the historian and the sociologist of the future.

But details, however good, are not sufficient; we want also, and urgently, 'the vast and complex picture of the past.' The records of the East India Company are among the best historical material (probably the best) in existence, and have been utilised in the past by such scholars of repute as Robert Orme, John Bruce (Foster's two predecessors as Historiographer), H. H. Wilson, Sir George Birdwood, and Sir William Hunter. Yet, we have not got a comprehensive history of the great Company, which has contributed to England's greatness as much as any other institution. Let us hope that scholars like Sir William Foster will before long supply this much felt need.

P. J. THOMAS.

RULERS OF INDIA—HARSHA

BY

RADHAKRISHNAN MOCHERIL, M.A., PH.D.

[Calcutta University Readership Lectures, pp. 280 and Index. The Oxford University Press, price Rs. 2-8.]

It is a pleasant and agreeable surprise that the 'Rulers of India' have been resurrected after so many years, and the series begins now with a good and eminently readable monograph on Harsha. There are seven chapters in the book and a frontispiece shows some of the coins of the king. A plate is attached which is a copy of a copper-plate inscription having the signature of Harsha. The book appears to be at once popular and erudite; for, though professing, and in form appearing to be a series of lectures, the book also abounds in footnotes, detailed references to the primary and secondary sources utilised, and scholarly appendices at the end of different chapters. Some of these may look rather 'archaeological.' But this is as it should be; no writer on Harsha could refuse to tackle such questions as Harsha's relationship with the Maukhari Kings, the

contemporary kings of the Gupta lineage, the identity of Samukha, the extent of the Kingdom of Kumbha Bhikshavarmas the friend and ally of Harsha and similar subjects. Some of Doctor Mookerji's conclusions appear to be very reasonable, for example, that the war between Pulakesin II and Harsha must have taken place before 612 A.D. Opinion will however differ as to whether he should have introduced the problematic theory of Yasodharmas of Mihira being the father of Yasovati and thus, the maternal grandfather of Harsha. This is discussed in a note, but it does not appear to be relevant in a book intended for the general reader; at best, it would have been sufficient to have indicated the existence of such a theory in a footnote.

Apart from such matter, the main text of the book in all the chapters is above controversy.

The possibility of a long and vivid historical work of some magnitude on the life and times of Harsha was foreseen and clearly pointed out by Vincent Smith as early as 1904 in his *Early History of India*. A few writers have since then, managed to utilise the abundant sources available for this period, e.g. Bhatnagar, in France (1908) and C. V. Vaidya and K. M. Panikkar (1921, 1922) in India. We must acknowledge that Doctor Mookerji has utilised these sources to a greater degree than the previous writers. It would appear that 'Bana' has been thrashed to yield the last grain, and history has been discovered even in his descriptive passages. Still, we would remark that there could be a more thorough and systematic utilisation of the sources, taken all together. A monograph on Harsha may contain a better and more exhaustive study of the times when the king lived. The chapters V and VI, 'The Economic Conditions' and 'The Social Life' could easily be fuller. We would have liked to find more pages devoted to Harsha's dramatic works in a book which is professedly an historical biography. The author's note on the Gupta art at the end of chapter V looks as if it is an unrelated essay; it might have been better knit, and woven closely into the texture of an account of the artistic remains of the period and a sketch of its characteristic art developments. The period of Harsha saw the close of the 'Classical' period of Indian Art and the beginning of the medieval 'Romantic' period and as such is most eventful. A sketch of the art history of the period would be most welcome. The more particular reader will also miss in the book a separate chapter on Yuan Chwang, the second

largest figure that fills the canvas of the history of the first half of the seventh century. We do not think that an account of his life and peregrinations would be out of place. There may be longer notice of I-tsing and of the Greater India in the Far East. The Buddhist Indian teachers of China and the West Indies looking up India and the rest of Asia may be mentioned, and we would like to hear the echo of the controversies in the halls and court-yards of Nālanda and Nāgarahāra.

But these are perhaps tasks that could be fulfilled only in the future. In spite of the shortcomings indicated above Doctor Mookerji's *Kaśha* is the best of the accounts so far written on the great King Kaśha and his times.

R. R.

SELECTIONS FROM THE STATE PAPERS OF THE
GOVERNOR-GENERALS OF INDIA—LORD
CORNWALLIS 1786-93

EDITED WITH BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

SIR GEORGE FORREST, C.B.E.

[Read Macdowell, Oxford, 1924. Vol. I. Introduction, pp. xix, and Vol. II Documents, pp. 396 with a plan of Seringapatam.]

THE late Sir George Forrest could not, on account of illness, see through the press the story he wrote of the campaigns of Medowes and Cornwallis against Mysore (1790-92) and of the Parliamentary debates, correspondence, etc., that led to the proclamation of the Permanent Settlement. The account is given here as it was left by him, except for the supply of a few obvious omissions in the text. The introduction starts with the coming into office of Sir John Macpherson who had rendered himself notorious as the secret agent of the Nawab of the Carnatic in the negotiations that led to the appointment of Sir John Lindsay by the Home Government as Minister Plenipotentiary to Arcot and by his subsequent dismissal from the Madras Service by Lord Pigot. We are then told of the negotiations that led to the forcing of the acceptance of the Governor-Generalship on Lord Cornwallis the first Governor-General appointed after the whole power of Government had been transferred to the Board of Control and who was expected to carry out the chief aims of Pitt's Act. To resign the

Company's servants in India was an easier task than to suppress a still more scandalous evil, the deep-rooted "unhealthy source" of which lay in the corruption of the Court and the party-leaders, the Directors and Proprietors of the Company in England. Cornwallis did his best to remove the discontent of the Company's officers in the army, settled with the Nizam the cession of the Guntur Sircar, as well as the English relations with the Nawab Visier of Oudh. But soon his greatest pre-occupation came to be with Tipu Sultan; and the bulk of the introduction is devoted to the English relations with and war in Mysore. The campaigns of General Medwae, a veteran soldier, are sketched at some length, while naturally enough the movements of the Governor-General after he landed at Madras with substantial reinforcements are most elaborately treated.

The treaty negotiations that Tipu concluded with Cornwallis resulted in the forcing of peace conditions on 'the prostrate armies of the Sultan'; however these harsh conditions were considered moderate by Munro, then a rising officer, who wrote thus, 'Everything is now done by moderation and conciliation. At this rate we shall be all Quakers in twenty years more.'

Cornwallis, who was sent out to India to pursue a policy of strict neutrality and non-interference except for self-defence, was obsessed with the notion that the utter ruin of the kingdom of Mysore would prove of serious injury to British interests, to which Munro replied in his own way in a letter to his father—'It (peace) can never arrive while Tipu exists, while his power remains unimpaired, so far from being able to extend our territory, we shall be perpetually in danger of losing what we have. Why then not remove, while we can, so formidable an enemy?'

The Introduction notices Cornwallis's missions to Nepal and Assam and closes with an account of the measures which led to the settlement of the Bengal revenue in perpetuity and of the code of regulations framed for the guidance of the Courts in Bengal. Small mistakes, which could have been easily avoided by a reference to the sources of information, have crept into the book here and there (e.g. Tyagrah, known to Orme, Wilks and other early writers as Tirah, has been put in the text as Tragat on p. 53 and noted as being eight miles from

² *Obit.*, *Life of Sir Thomas Munro* (1880), vol. 1, p. 132.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Trichinopoly, whereas Wilks from whom the point is taken¹ definitely says that Tugur is distant about eighty miles from Trichinopoly). These are however very minor mistakes which crept in probably on account of the author's inability to see this matter through the press himself.

Sir George gives us a very good pen-picture of the Parliamentary debates over the war and the precedent tripartite treaty and of the way in which Fox assailed Dundas and the treaty with the Marathas in his most vehement manner.

In the Documents volume are given the main items of correspondence, minutes and despatches relating to the war with Tipu, the Maratha affairs, the land revenue settlement, general administration and Outh. Cornwallis's letter to the Directors, dated April 5, 1793, describing the advantages of the arrangements made with Tipu by treaty is worth close study, as well as his minute dated September 18, 1793, in which he skilfully put forward his view in favour of the right of the Zemindars to property in the soil. He skilfully evades any casting of doubts on the attitude that the Zemindars might adopt towards their tenants under the proposed system, by saying that 'the experience of what they are or have been under one system, is by no means the proper criterion to determine what they would be under the influence of another founded upon very different principles.'² The publication of the important items in the documentary literature relating to the British revenue policy in Bengal embodied in the books recently published by Messrs. Ascoli, Firminger and Ramsbottom, helps us to easily follow up the trend of the correspondence of Cornwallis relating to this field. The correspondence on the army affairs and on the improvement of the civil and judicial services has been chosen with great care. One desideratum in this volume is the supplying of prefatory notes to each section of records which would explain the trend of the development of policy and action, such as is given in similar source books. We would commend this to the attention of the publishers, and urge on them the desirability of their pushing forward this series by bringing out, under equally distinguished editors like Forrest, the State-papers of the more important at least among the subsequent Governors-General.

C. B. S.

¹ 200th ed. vol. II, p. 177.

² p. 24, vol. II.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT AND OF
THE EVENTS LEADING TO IT

WRITTEN IN PERSIAN

BY

CASI RAJA PANDIT

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

LT.-COL. JAMES BROWN IN 1781, AND NOW EDITED WITH AN
INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND APPENDICES

BY

H. G. RAWLINSON

[Published for the University of Bombay by the Oxford University Press, 1888
pp. 68 Rs. 2]

THIS edition of a forgotten but valuable English translation of the contemporary account of the Panipat campaign from the pen of an eyewitness who was moreover much concerned in the negotiations preceding the battle, is by Mr H. G. Rawlinson who has done much valuable work in the field of modern Indian History and is now engaged in the work of sifting and cataloguing the records in the Peshwa's Daftar at Poona. Casi Raja Pandit was a Decent Maratha Brahmin, an employee of the Oudh Nawab, Sadar Jang and Shuja-ud-daula, and was equally at home in Persian and in Marathi. His account has been judged by a competent critic as being on the whole veracious, 'very clear, comprehensive and rational,' though he was suspected of writing under Haûsar's influence. The original Persian manuscript of the account has perished; and its translation by Lt.-Col. James Brown, Resident at Delhi (1782-85) and author of *Asiatic Treats* (1788) was almost inaccessible, being buried away in a forgotten volume of the *Asiatic Researches*.

Casi Raja gives a very favourable estimate of the ability in civil administration of the Bhat Sahab, the Maratha *gavarnishree*; but a very poor opinion of his strategic and military skill and his diplomatic skill in gaining allies. Casi Raja was himself the instrument of much of the negotiations that passed between the Bhat Sahab and the Nawab Vizier and knew the weaknesses of the former. His unfavourable estimate of Maratha generalship and his condemnation of the Bhat Sahab for abandoning guerrilla warfare and shutting himself

up in Panipat, have been generally accepted by historians from Epliasstone to Sydney Owen; and his remark that 'Providence made use of Ahmed Shah Durrani to humble the unbecoming pride and presumption of the Marathas' is now proved to have arisen a little from prejudice, perhaps unconscious. Mr Rawlinson shows in his introduction how the Rhao Sahab's policy was not to dissipate his energies in guerilla warfare, but to force his opponents to accept battle in the open field, and how, had the Peshwa come to his help in time as was desired by Virves Rao, the fate of the battle might have been different. The defeat of Panipat was to the Marathas from the bravery displayed by them 'as honourable as a victory.' The Editor gives as appendices the itinerary of the Maratha army in the campaign as given in Mr Sardesai's *Maratha Itinerary*, a small bibliography of the campaign, the narrative of the battle as given in the *Autobiographical Memoir of the Early Life of Nana Farnavis* (translated by J. Briggs, 1829) and two letters showing the trend of the Rhao Sahab's strategy. Two plans of the battle are also given.

We hope this book will prove the first of a series of historical records edited by capable scholars and will be followed by authentic editions of works now inaccessible like the Autobiography of Nana Farnavis.

C. S. S.

ENGLISH LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY

L. F. SALAMAN

[Reprinted. Oxford University Press, 1926. pp 287]

MIDDLEVAL. English society, particularly from the twelfth century onwards, though marked with disease, poverty and cruelty, had its own note of joy, humour and laughter, the humour manifesting itself in the practical joke and the indecent story, and showing itself in art also. The division of society into the clergy and laity, and of the latter into three classes—nobles, traders and labourers—was hedged in with the corporate sense, in which the status of every man was fixed by his place in some community, manor, borough, guild, learned University or convent. The author, who has already brought out some books on life in the middle ages describes in a different chapter life in country, town and home, the church, the condition

of women, the facilities for travel and wayfaring and devotes special attention to the description of education and literature, art and science, law, industry and trade. He traces the village from the Saxon *tan* through the Norman and Plantagenet manor down to the Elizabethan parish, stressing the growth of the idea of private ownership of land. The development of town-life and particularly of its ill-lit taverns, is illustrated from accounts like the twelfth century description of London by William Pitt Stephen and the fourteenth century poem of *Piers Plowman*. The process of the drawing apart of the social classes began with the increase of wealth in the fourteenth century and was intensified with the rise of 'a new rich class' lacking the old traditions. The growth of the Universities trained and civilized the crude intellect of the country, while the friars gave to English religion a new spirit and new methods. There was no very distinct line between the grammar-school and the University. The tradition and society of lawyers formed a highly characteristic product of the Middle Ages, closely comparable to the Universities, according to the high authority of Mr. G. M. Trevelyan; and their importance is only a little lower than that of Parliament men.

The book treats of the part played by foreigners in the development of English trade and industry, of the follies of women, of the merits of the good wife and of the almost equal part played by women with men in love and war, house and field, sport and business. The treatment is generally good, though in places overburdened with detail. A bibliography at the end indicates a few books which will be useful to students and teachers. The illustrations are numerous and interesting; and the extracts from contemporary sources of information are judicious and full.

C. S. S.

EARLY EUROPEAN BANKING IN INDIA WITH SOME REFLECTIONS ON PRESENT CONDITIONS

BY

H. BODIA

[Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1927. pp. iv and 274.]

EVER in the last decades of the eighteenth century, banks had been founded by the Calcutta Agency Houses which did business not only as merchants and agents but also as bankers for the mercantile community,

planters and the Civil and Military Services. Messrs. Alexander & Co. founded in Calcutta about 1770 the Bank of Hindustan which was the earliest European banking house in India. There were four severe runs on this bank in 1791, 1810, 1829 and 1832, the last of which it could not survive owing to the failure of its parent Agency House. Singularly the Calcutta Bank started by Messrs. Palmer & Co., could not survive the failure of that Agency House in 1829. The Bengal Bank, quite unconnected with the later Presidency Bank of Bengal, was in existence between 1790 and 1800 and even earlier according to the author, enjoying some sort of recognition at the hands of Government which allowed it to register and liquidate some kinds of Government bills. 1783 saw the opening of the General Bank of India, which, according to Mr. Sinha, was the first joint-stock bank in India with limited liability, 'long before the incorporation of similar institutions in England'—though this last claim requires further substantiation. The question of the limited liability of the shareholders of a bank was not free from legal doubts for a number of years. The deed of agreement of this Bank which has been quoted at length is compatible with the present-day memorandum and articles of association of joint-stock concerns. 'The principle of limited liability' here enunciated, is claimed to be 'entirely foreign to the genius of the people.'

The General Bank met with considerable success from the beginning and reduced the Bengal Bank to an inferior position in the bid for Government patronage. It became the virtual banker to Government, though the latter continued to have its own treasury, and the independent treasury system only vanished away with the amalgamation of the Presidency Banks in the Imperial Bank of India in 1881. The author explains the scheme of the Bank Post Bills requiring acceptance before payment and drawn up in sets of three and not in sets of one. The notes of both the Bengal and the General Banks are examined and contrasted with the earliest *goldsmith's notes* of England and the earliest Bank of England notes and also with the corresponding indigenous instrument of the *Darnal Dhanjog Hundli*.

Mr. Sinha traces clearly the movement for a scheme of paper currency first mooted in 1772, the need for a uniform paper being then much greater than now owing to the hopeless confusion of the different mint rupees in circulation. The Government of Warren Hastings enjoyed a very low credit and 'the notes of an impecunious govern-

want, prose to run its reserves could not circulate' The then adviser of Government, Sir James Stewart, regarded a state bank as impossible and suggested a scheme similar to that which came into operation when in 1787 the General Bank was made the banker of the Company. The General Bank did its business fairly efficiently, though it never reached 'a steady dividend-paying stage' and did not build up reserves with a view to equalise dividends. The monetary crisis of 1790-01 brought forth a proposal from the chiefs of the Agency Houses for the issue of inconvertible currency notes against the Company's paper and for the recognition of bank-notes as legal tender, but these were not accepted. The various difficulties that both Government and the Calcutta Money Market had to contend with, one faced till the opening of the Bank of Bengal under the name of the Bank of Calcutta in 1806. There now dawned a new era of banking in India. Its notes alone were recognised by Government and it enjoyed great reputation from the very beginning, on account of the dissolution or failure of the previous banks. Its charter (1804) is declared by Mr Sinha to run much along the lines of the plan for a General Bank of India outlined by Sir James Stewart in 1772.

The history of banking in Bengal down to 1804 has been traced elaborately in its own organisation and in its relation to Government and the currency system with the help of old state records and newspapers and the records of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Imperial Bank. In the second part of the book the author traces the decline of indigenous banking—maintaining that the same causes of political and economic upheaval destroyed the indigenous banks and constructed the European banks, but these processes were distinct, though simultaneous (p. 171). The functions of the *banjaras* and the *shroffs* gradually changed under the new conditions. The European banks added an important function to the general duties of a bank, viz., the issue of notes which was then a most urgently needed want in the rotten and chaotic state of the currency. The indirect effects of such bank-notes were extensive, especially for the maintaining of the value of Government securities. This close connection between Government and the banks benefited both. The sound organisation of a strong money-market and the stressing on the need for a discount market under the aegis of a strong central institution were proved to be necessary by the history of early banking in Calcutta; and these needs

have been repeated by the recent Royal Currency Commission. The issue of notes by banks was a common enough feature in those days, and the demand for a reversion to that system, with modifications, has been made also by the Commission and by others. Mr. Sinha discusses other important problems like the proper relations of the Imperial Bank to Government and other banks, the need for industrial financing and for the introduction of a gold currency which alone will create confidence in the people and wean them from their hoarding habit, a State Land Bank, the provision of greater facilities for the development of banking habits, etc., including the need for a better co-ordination of the indigenous and English systems. The treatment has not been uniformly clear, especially in places in the first part; but the conclusions are generally sound and valuable, specially as concerns the treatment of the systems of indigenous banking. The information contained in the book is confined mainly to the Presidency of Bengal, and as a reviewer points out elsewhere there were banks started in Bombay about half a century earlier than in Bengal while the Dutch had set up an Indian Bank as early as 1744. The doings of the banks have not been fully portrayed in Government records and proceedings which only throw much light on the relations of these institutions with Government. We are still very much in the dark with regard to the banks' activities in financing private and mercantile trade. With these limitations the book is a useful addition to our knowledge of the early currency and banking development of British India.

C. S. S.

**INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WESTERN
WORLD FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE
FALL OF ROME**

BY

H. G. RAWLINSON

[Second Edition. Cambridge University Press, 1896. pp. viii and 128, with a map of India and Central Asia and four illustrations. 8s 6d, net.]

THIS is practically a reprint, with no appreciable alteration or addition of the first edition published in 1816. It traces Indian relations with the West from the times of Solomon and even earlier; and it carries on the story in the closely packed, succinct and compact manner of

writing, characteristic of the author who as early as 1813 contributed an article on Foreign Influences in the Civilisation of Ancient India to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* and later incorporated it as the last essay in his *Indian Historical Studies* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1913). The bulk of the material has been gathered from the Western classical writers direct and from McCrindle's translations of them. We wish he had thrown some light and tried to construct a narrative of the probable influences mutually operating between Ancient Mesopotamia and the Indian Valley from the base of the Boghas Kot inscriptions, the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, etc. The book brings out in clear outline the spread of Hellenistic culture in North-western India. It is very few writers that have dwelt upon this subject, and only one of them has in recent times attempted to describe it at length (G. N. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*. Butterworth, 1919). The last chapter of Mr. Newlinson's book, being a very good summary of the effects of this intercourse between India and the Eastern Mediterranean world, should be valuable in particular to the student of Indian history and culture.

C. S. S.

PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN ŚILPASHĀSTRA

BY

PROFESSOR PHAMINDRA NATH BHOW

Vivekananda University

[Published in the Punjab Oriental (Banslith) Series.]

THANKS to the late much lamented pundit and scholar Mahimashā-pādhyaya T. Ganapati Sastri, and other scholars, a vast literature treating of the science of *Śilpa* has been made accessible to earnest students of Indian art and architecture. Besides others which have been positively lost beyond redemption, there are still valuable manuscripts in the different libraries which await publication. The science of *Śilpashāstra* is a very important one, for it is the acid test of a nation's greatness in respect of culture and civilisation. Such a vast and useful subject could not be treated with any justice in a small volume like the one under review. And still the attempt is a welcome one.

The whole volume of literature extant on the art and science of

Silpaśāstra has been classified into three main divisions. *Vastuśāstra* or the science of architecture, *Śilpaśāstra* or the science of sculpture, and *Citra-sāstra* or the science of painting. The author has taken each of these divisions and has examined them from the sources of information available. The chief works from which references are often made are the *Vikramadharwadīya-purāṇa*, *Sukraśāiti*, *Māyātātira*, *Pratīka-sūtra-lakṣya*. The last work is a manuscript attributed to the Sage Ātreya. Professor Bore seems to take it as a Buddhist work, and quotes largely from it. Something like an elaborate study has been attempted on the *Vastuśāstra*. But the chapters dealing with the science of sculpture and painting only contain elementary details which at least form an introduction to a detailed study of the subject.

The opening chapters on the origin of *Śilpa* and the Indian *Śilpaśāstra* are interesting but do not exhibit the serious labour of an earnest researcher. According to our author the history of Indian art and sculpture begins with images and sculptures of Buddhist origin. Even these artists might have been inspired by the Greek model. There were no temples or images before the Buddhist period, because there are no remains of the images of purely Hindu gods of such an early age. These are statements that have no legs to stand on when tested in the light of various details of literary evidence. It would be out of place to discuss these points in a short review like this. The last chapter on the 'Contribution of Indian Art' is indeed a disappointing section. Even in a short study of this great subject, we expected that Dr. Bore would elaborately deal with the greatness and significance of Indian art, and the real contribution it has made to advance Indian culture and its place in the progress of world civilisation. We are not able to understand why this important section is dismissed with two pages.

The one redeeming feature of the book is the two appendices, one giving the text of *Āryaśāstra*, and the other quotations from the manuscripts on the subject in the Virvaḥharatī Library. The printing of the book is far from satisfactory. There are a large number of mistakes in spelling of ordinary words, and also mistakes in transliteration of Sanskrit words which by a more careful proof-reading would have been avoided. In spite of these defects the book would serve as an introductory handbook to students of the Indian *Silpaśāstra*.

V. R. R.

ECONOMIC ANNALS OF BENGAL

BY

MR. J. C. SINHA

Dacca University

[Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London. Price 12s. 6d. net.]

The beginnings of the eighteenth century witnessed very important developments in the domain of Economics in India. It was the era of transition from the old order of things to the new. The Economic history of Modern India like that of Ancient India has yet to be written. So far there is no authoritative study of a period or periods of Indian History from the economic standpoint. An endeavour has been made in the book under review to study critically the different economic questions which exercised the minds of Hastings and Cornwallis who happened to be at the head of the administration at this particular period. This is not a loose and popular study of a great question. On the other hand Professor Sinha has based all his facts on rare and valuable documents, most of them being manuscripts in the Imperial Records Office. As such it is a serious study of a serious problem.

The learned author of the work has chosen for his study a period, 1757-83, which is one of the most trying ones in the annals of modern history of India. It was a period when the political horizon was in a muddle and confusion, when political intrigues were rampant, and when there was no settled order and peace which are so much essential for the satisfactory settlement of economic and industrial questions. The first chapter is an introduction rapidly surveying the economic conditions prevalent in Bengal from 1707 to 1757, when the English Company became an important political body, as a consequence of the English victory at the battle of Plassey.

But the most interesting and valuable chapters are the third and the fourth where the economic reforms of Hastings, and Cornwallis have been treated in a connected whole. After a complete study of the book, it is clear that the author has mainly pitched upon two difficult topics, the history of Bengal commerce, and the problem of currency in the period under review. In dealing with commerce the author has not failed to mark the inland trade from the foreign trade. The different kinds of trade, their character and volume are discussed with a wealth of detail.

Equal, and perhaps more attention, is paid in the discussion of the currency problems which were nothing but complex. There was no uniform currency. There were different kinds of rupees in circulation in one and the same district, and there was no settled exchange ratio. It could not be positively said whether monometallism or bimetalism suited the land. Each was given a trial and found wanting. In this short period bimetalism was adopted three times. Neither Hastings nor Cornwallis could solve the problem to any satisfactory extent.

The concluding chapter is a thought-provoking one. Professor Shukla points out that as a result of the Company's monopoly in manufactures and the consequent oppression of the weavers, most of the indigenous industries decayed resulting in the destruction of the industrial spirit of the people in the long run. They became dependant more and more on agriculture. The learned professor concludes: 'The ameliorative measures of Hastings and Cornwallis, however beneficial in other ways, did not really compensate the people for the loss of the industrial spirit and the destruction of capital.' The book is written in lucid and clear English, and the printing and the get-up leave nothing to be desired.

V. R. R.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES

BY

DR. B. C. LAW, M.A.

[Published in the Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series.]

THE history of ancient India is still in the making. In spite of decades of research by both Western and Eastern savants, our knowledge of ancient Indian historical facts is still meagre. There are still knotty problems that await final solution. One such intricate subject is the state of India in prehistoric times. It is generally admitted,—and we are afraid on very slender evidence,—that there was a tribal stage out of which evolved the state consciousness. Dr. Law, a distinguished student of ancient Indian literature, has been devoting himself to this particular subject for several years past, and the present work is the outcome of his strenuous labours.

The book contains a study of five ancient tribes—the Kauris, the Koshas, the Ashukhas, the Magadhas, and the Bhajas. The author has

left no source unexploited in the matter of treating each of these kingdoms. The history of each country or Janapada is begun from the Vedic times and carried on to the historical period with a wealth of detail all culled out from both Sanskrit and Pali literature. After completely reading every page of the book, if we would ask ourselves the question, whether we can admit of different tribes occupying these territories, the answer seems to be more on the negative side. Let us, for example, take the chapters on the Kasis and the Kosalas.

As for the Kasis, whether from *Augustine Nibeyu* the Epic, the *Puranas* or the Chinese version of Timian, it is not possible for us to say that the term Kasia was the name of a tribe. It would appear from the *Harivamsa* that the sons of Kasa, King of the Anandh dynasty were known as the Kasia. Again there is no mention of Kosalas as the name of a people in literature. The origin of the term 'Kosala' from Kumala as given in the *Buddhagosa* is indeed interesting. As the author himself has pointed out the term plural कौशल्य is used in the *Ramayana* not to denote the peoples but the Kosala regions. These and other facts confirm more and more our supposition that the terms Kasia, Kosalas, etc., did not represent the name of any separate tribe but offshoots of a great family of princes like the *Atishakus*. Hence it would be fitting if the book is entitled 'Ancient Indian Kingdoms.' These small states seem to have been independent, each striving to absorb the other either by conquest or by marriage relations.

The book is a careful study of the different kingdoms. The author has perhaps exhausted all the available sources of information. It is an encyclopaedia of information on the respective kingdoms. The printing and get-up are good.

V. R. R.

POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF SOME NOTABLE MINISTERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

EDITED BY

PROFESSOR F. G. C. HARRISON

[Macmillan & Co., London.]

THIS consists of a series of eight lectures delivered at the London University in the spring-term of 1942. As the Editor's preface shows,

the lectures enjoyed a wide popularity and attracted larger audiences than any course ever given at the University. We have no difficulty in believing the statement as the subjects treated of were men that played a prominent part in Victorian England, whose memory has not as yet passed into history altogether. The lecturers were professors of distinction who have apparently paid special attention to the subjects they treated. In those circumstances, it will be small wonder if the lectures proved very acceptable, and an appreciative audience is only a matter of course.

The lecturers do not attempt presenting a full biography or a complete study of the subjects they have taken for treatment. Their object seems to have been clearly limited to the political principles that guided each one of those great men who played their parts in the rough and tumble of political life in England. A treatment on this principle necessarily involves many omissions and comparatively few commissions, and it would be hyper-criticism to point out omissions in respect of details or see commissions of error by way of statement (but the lecturers chose to make). In the nature of the case either of them would be easily possible, as the one is a matter of views, and the other, though belonging to the realm of matter-of-fact, would be out of accord, as the purpose of the lectures was not exhaustive treatment.

Without going into the details of each one of these lectures, which would take up too much space for a review, we may say generally that each of the lecturers has done his part on the whole very well. They have been able to put their finger on the principles that underlay the action of most of these prime ministers, and have been able to give apt illustrations that give unmistakable indication of the principle underlying their action. The lectures are uneven in point of length, but this can hardly be helped where different lecturers deal, each with his own particular subject. It would be ludicrous to mark out that which means better than the others in this respect or that. We may say as a whole that the course of lectures pleases us in the reading, and we dare say they would similarly provide pleasant reading to those that care for it. The organisers have done well in arranging the course, and of publishing the lectures themselves when they were delivered. Such courses are bound to stimulate interest, and may lead perhaps to further study of the subjects by University students, and when this is attained the object of the lecturers is attained, thereby

BUDDHIST INDIA (Vol. I No. 1)

AN ILLUSTRATED BUDDHIST QUARTERLY

EDITED BY

D. A. DHARMACHARYA

AND

B. M. BANERJEE

We welcome to the ranks of journalism this Quarterly, *Buddhist India*, which takes upon itself to expound the teaching of Buddhism, and its saving features in the land of its birth, where it has almost been completely forgotten. Buddhism which now is a living religion of half Asia, and a very considerable population of the world, though it originated and received its early development in India, has become so completely forgotten, and its literature not so readily available in Sanskrit as to be cultivated very much in the country. A revival in the study of Buddhism and Buddhist history is undoubtedly welcome in our present state of knowledge of both. Those responsible for this journal have taken care not to make the journal an organ of any particular Mission. Buddhist journals are not too many, and an English Quarterly for the purpose of establishing the cultural link between 'India and the Far East, and thereby between the East and the West' is a welcome addition. It is also to be the vehicle for the dissemination of the results of the latest research concerning Buddhism. The first number before us holds out promise of success.

It begins with the invocation to the Buddha followed by a life, and then there is an account of the Pali Tripiṭaka. There is an interesting article on Buddhism as a universal religion. There is an important study on Śāntarakṣita, a Buddhist Śāntarakṣita, by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, the editor of the *Jāṭakamagga*. There are other interesting articles of a more or less popular character among which mention may be made of the popular exposition of the railings of 'Barhut Stupa' by B. M. Banerjee. There are miscellaneous notes on Buddhist art, archaeology, etc., together with reviews, and editorial notes. We wish this interesting periodical all success.

JIGNYASA

BY

VAIDYA VISARADA NATHEA SHASTRI

AND

B. G. SUBHRAMANIA SARMA

ANOTHER Quarterly has also made its appearance with the December of last year, *Jignyasa*, from Madras. This journal seems deliberately intended to counteract what is called Western methods of research in Indian studies. It is edited by Vaidya Visarada Natheas Shastri and B. G. Subhramanias Sarma. The first part is introduced to the public with a foreword by our much-respected countryman, Prof. K. Sundararama Aiyar of Kumbakonam. The journal has three articles, (1) Elements of Realism and Idealism in the Philosophy of Sankara, (2) an article on the Vrittikāra, and (3) one on Āchārya Sundarapāndya. All these and the foreword alike lay emphasis upon the fallacious methods of research pursued by Oriental scholars in respect of matters Indian, and lay themselves out to correct these errors by pursuing apparently what they consider to be the right method. We admit that in the work of research as it is pursued at present by Western scholars and Eastern, on matters of Indian history and culture, there may be much that is wrong in regard to the conclusions for which many good reasons may be urged in explanation. But as to the method, we are not aware of that sharp distinction that is actually drawn in this journal between the so-called Western and Eastern. Eastern scholars and critics even before the European advent were not altogether unaware of the methods of research inaugurated by Western scholars about a century and a half ago. The only difference is perhaps that in older times research was pursued perhaps with access to texts and teachers to a far greater degree than at present, and all the defects of modern research may perhaps find satisfactory explanation in this. But if one could judge of the methods of research sought to be inculcated in this journal, it would seem clear that the scope adopted is narrow, unsatisfying results being inevitably fallacious. Without going into details and labouring the point, we may merely point out that the date ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya in the sixth century A.C. may seem quite all right on the basis of the evidence adduced, but it is entirely forgotten that the evidence of Buddhism and Buddhism themselves is at be held equally valid, and the conclusion that

goes against Buddhist testimony cannot be altogether correct. If Sankarabuddhīya were almost contemporary with Buddha, there would be comparatively little of the kind of the Buddhīya and Sankarabuddhīya had to combat against. That could be easily made by pushing Buddha's date backwards by a number of centuries. It is there that the evidence of Buddhism itself would go against this conclusion.

While we approve of the effort to let in all the evidence available on the Sanskrit side which is emphasized in this journal, we must protest against research that does not take into account, even in matters having reference to Brahmanical culture alone, the light that the history of the heretical systems may throw upon this. Much light ought to be welcomed and held to be valid. While therefore welcoming the journal as likely to be a valuable addition, we would wish very much that those responsible for it would lay themselves out for a wider and more comparative study even on Eastern lines, so that the results that they may achieve may be much less one-sided than they happen to be.

THE LIFE OF BUDDHA ON THE STUPA AT BARABUDUR (ACCORDING TO THE LALITAVISTARA TEXT)

EDITED BY

N. J. KROM,

Professor, Leyden University.

[Published by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1896.]

It is now generally accepted that the Buddhist monument at Barabudur is one of the wonders of architecture, and a miracle of stone work. Descriptions of the great monument have been made from time to time of a more or less complete character, but it remained for the enterprise of the Dutch Archaeological Department and the publishing house of Martinus Nijhoff to bring out a magnificent album of some hundreds of plates in two volumes and a letter-press in Dutch in a single but large enough volume some years ago. An English version of the letter-press was promised, but the War which upset so much else upset this as well. An earnest of this English promised version is this work by Dr. Krom, in which he selects one section from the whole big monument bearing upon the life of Buddha. He compares the incidents in the life as they are depicted on the monument and as they are described in the Sanskrit text of the life, *Lalitavistara*. He

finds the similarity rather close, and incidents are found to correspond almost to every illustration contained in the monument, thus exhibiting that the *Lakṣmīnāṣa* text that is available to us forms perhaps the basis of the monument, such as it is in Java. Thus we have here monument supporting the text, and the text explaining the monument.

This magnificent mention of human hands is ascribable to the glorious days of Sri Vijaya in the eighth and ninth century A.D. Indian emigration from North India datable even to the centuries before Christ went across to the east both the island region and the continent across Sumatra seems to have been the objective of these voyages, and made a great impression on the mind of South India, as is evidenced by passages in the Tamil poem *Aṅkuralakāṣa*. It was there that the foundations of a kingdom were laid early, and all religions which had their birth and prosperity in South India found a reflex in Sri Vijaya, the modern Palembang. About the middle of the eighth century, this kingdom grew into an empire under a dynasty of rulers known to historians as the Śailēndras. It is to the court of these Śailēndra rulers and their capital Palembang that I'Tsing went as providing the climatic and academic advantages for prosecuting his life work, accurate translations of Buddhist sacred books that he collected by his long years of travel in India. This empire under the Śailēndras extended outside the island of Sumatra, and reduced the neighbouring islands to subjection, among which was Java in the immediate neighbourhood. Barabudur is a product of this glorious epoch of this glorious dynasty of Śailēndras. At a period somewhat later, the Śailēndra influence and power grew so great that these Śailēndras came into touch, diplomatic and commercial with the celestial empire of China on the one hand, and the Chola empire of Rājaraṣa the Great on the other.

The monument at Barabudur is taken to be Mahayanistic in character, and is traditionally taken to be the work of a Buddhist by name Gunaḍharṇa, and gives in the single monument an epitome of the Buddhist universe almost similar to that which is said to have been built at the Chakravāṇakottapa, according to *Aśvameśhaka*. Dr. Kruse has done his work exceedingly well; the illustrations are magnificent, and the letter-press for the 190 pictures given are clear and illuminating. We shall be looking forward to the whole work promised, with interest and expectancy.

'HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL INDIA' (VOL. III)
DOWNFALL OF HINDU INDIA

BY

C. V. VAIDYA, JESU

WE must congratulate Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, the veteran Marhatta scholar, and retired High Court Judge, Indore, on his great enterprise and good luck in bringing to a close his attempt at writing the History of Medieval India, for the period A. D. 800 to A. D. 1800 in the comparatively difficult period of Hindu India, the period that Mr. Vaidya has chosen is perhaps the most difficult in many ways. Nothing daunted by the vastness of the enterprise or by the difficulties involved, he has attempted the task on the whole with success. The part before us continues the good work which he has already given us in the two previous parts, the third forming in size as big a part as the two others put together. The learned Rao Bahadur has dealt with the period with his usual learning and critical acumen. While for certain parts there is a plethora of material, there are parts which suffer from lack of reliable material, and in both alike Mr. Vaidya has exhibited critical ability and great industry.

It is a great pity that the work should have suffered damage by fire before it was hardly published. We only hope that the demand for the book from students and scholars alike would be sufficient to encourage his publishing another edition to compensate him at least partially for the loss that he sustained and for the labour that he bestowed upon the work. While one would wish him compensation for the loss certainly, one must bear in mind it oftentimes proves that labour is its own reward in such enterprises. We congratulate Mr. Vaidya most cordially upon the completion of this great work of his.

TWILIGHT OF HISTORY

BY

DAVID GEORGE HOGARTH, C.M.G., M.A., D. LITT.

[Karl Gray Memorial Lecturer. Oxford University Press.]

Professor Hogarth here takes up for treatment that period of history which comes after the glorious epoch of Cæsar's civilisation and the coming in of what perhaps is the Achæan-Greek civilisation, accordingly, at any rate, to some authorities. The period of about five

centuries following is generally regarded as a period of decadence and darkness. This period Professor Hogarth examines with a view to find out if there were justification for this characterisation. He regards neither of them as a correct characterisation, and if we are to accept his dictum in the matter, it is usually a period of economic civilisation as distinct from the artistic, both on the Minoan and on the Achaean side. The accepted archaeological classification does not show that division to be sufficiently marked, so that one might clearly mark off where one period ended and the other period began. It is really a question of development of the artistic character from the merely artistic to the utilitarian. This change would indicate that what probably served for the enjoyment of the few had really been, both by natural development and by the influence of foreign impact, transformed into something more utilitarian and calling for production in the mass. The artistic forms on vases, plates, and articles of sorts assume a more regular and somewhat more geometrical shapes, it may be of the conventional kind even, and cease to be unusual. Hence he would call this period of commercial products as ushered by articles that turn up at archaeological excavations, rather by the name twilight of history than by darkness. It is not the darkness before the dawn as archaeologists call it, it was rather the dawn before the break of day. He denounces the invading army being called barbarian because it is unproved. He does not find evidence that the older civilisation was swept out of existence to make room for a new. It is much rather a gradual transformation of an older into a later, and of an artistic into an economic civilisation. That is the theme of his lecture. His lecture, short as it is, sheds a flood of light upon the darkness, and opens a new vista for archaeologists to pursue.

TATTVABANGRAHA

BY

ŚĀNTERAKṢHITA

[Goswami's Original text]

THIS is a work of Mahāyāna logic written by a Mahāyāna Buddhist teacher, Śāntarakṣita, who flourished in Bengal in the reign of Gopala of the Pala dynasty, took himself to Tibet, and was responsible for the introduction of Buddhism there, and was instrumental in bringing

about the advent of Guru Padmasambhava, with whom is associated the introduction of Tibetan Buddhism and Indian philosophy into Tibet. This would give Śāntarakṣita a date in the eighth century A.D. quite early in the century, if Tibetan tradition is to be believed. He is responsible for the building of the monastery of Sam-ye in Tibet in A.D. 749, and died thirteen years after in A.D. 762. The positive date has some difficulties to get over, but there could be no difficulty in regard to the century in which he actually lived.

The work *Tattvasaṅgraha* constituting Volume XXX of the Oodk-wad's Oriental Series consists of two parts, Śāntarakṣita's text with his disciple, Kamalaśīla's commentary, Kamalaśīla undoubtedly being a younger contemporary of Śāntarakṣita. The historical importance of this work consists in this, — that the work gives us a conspectus of the advances that logic had made in the eighth century A.D. Both the author and the commentator alike, the latter much more than the former, criticise the work of their predecessors in the subject, and the commentator in particular gives precise references to names and works of those criticised from which one gains an idea of the authors of the various schools and their works, and to some extent their relative position with respect to Śāntarakṣita and his work. There are as many as sixty-four of these authors and commentators put under regulation, and we gain some definite knowledge of these from the work itself. Thus it makes a very important contribution to the cultural history of India by giving us an idea of the hierarchy of teachers in the subject up to the period of Kamalaśīla. We gain a more or less correct picture of writers contemporary with the author, and of those that lived just before him.

The work is well edited with an English introduction by Dr B. Bhattacharyya, and a Sanskrit one by Bhaṭṭa Kṛṣṇasūracharya, both of the Library Department of His Highness the Oodk-wad of Baroda. It is likely to prove a work of great value to the student of Indian history and culture, as several others of the series we have had occasion to look into.

NOTE.—The Editor regrets that reviews on the *Doctrines of Buddha* by George Griener, and the *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism* by N. Dutt could not be included in this number as they were received too late for this issue.

Obituary

B HULTZSCH AND F. E. PARGITER

It is matter for great regret that this issue of the *Journal of Indian History* should be under the necessity to make as many as four obituary notices of scholars interested in Indian history in several of its departments.

The first and foremost is Professor B. Hultzsch, who retired as Professor of Sanskrit at Halle only recently. In Dr. Hultzsch's death Indian history loses one of its great pillars in the field of epigraphy. He came to India in the latter half of the eighties as the Epigraphist to the Government of Madras specifically, though the mantle of the late James Burgess and J. F. Fleet, as experts in the field of epigraphy, fell on to his shoulders very early in his career. Burgess retired a few years before Hultzsch's arrival in India to take up a chair of mathematics elsewhere, an office which he held with distinction for wellnigh a quarter of a century. Fleet was still in the heyday of his work and fame as an epigraphist, a pre-eminence which he held almost to the day of his death. Hultzsch as Epigraphist to the Government of Madras made the publication of South Indian Inscriptions his own, and was a great authority in Indian epigraphy apart from the distinctly South Indian. His interest in the study of Sanskrit and South Indian languages was great, and his range of knowledge in Indian epigraphy was comparable to that of Bühler and Kellhorn among the dead, and Sten Konow among the living. The number of inscriptions that he collected during his twenty years of work in India was indeed very large, of which it is only as yet a part that has been made available to the public. After retiring from here, and letting the mantle of his office fall on the shoulders of two of his successors who were his assistants, and whose training in epigraphy was entirely owing to him, he took up the Chair of Sanskrit in the University of Halle in Germany, which he occupied till about two or three years ago when he retired from it. All through the time when he was occupying the Sanskrit Chair, his interest in epigraphy never flagged. He kept a keen and watchful eye to work in the various departments connected

with epigraphy, and had a word of encouragement for all items of work done in any one of these branches. We have had the pleasure of constant correspondence with him for over a quarter of a century, and have had his encouraging approval for all work done in South Indian history by us ever since the appearance of the two Chelvi papers in the first years of the century. In the year of his retirement he was occupied with works on Sanskrit literature of which two stand out, *Rāpavāṇa* based on manuscripts found in the Government Manuscript Library here, and an edition of the *Adikāvandā*, not to mention catalogues of Sanskrit, etc., manuscripts in the Government Manuscript Library here, of which he had issued three parts. His greatest work, however, is a revised edition of the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, first issued by Cunningham long long ago. It was entrusted to Hultzsch first. From him the Government of India took it over, and a young Indian scholar, the late Mr. Ladd, was at work on it and carried it some little way, when he was carried off in the prime of life, after the first Oriental Conference at Poona in 1918. The Great War made further work on it impossible, as Hultzsch could no more be put into regulation during the period of the War. It was, however, destined to get into his hands after the establishment of peace, and the work could in the appearance only a short time before the death of Hultzsch. The volumes of South Indian Inscriptions, a model publication of the kind, a number of his articles in the *Epigraphia Indica*, and his edition of the Asoka Inscriptions stand out prominent monuments of his labour extending over forty years in the field of Indian epigraphy continuously. It is matter for the deepest regret that he should have passed away, but he was old and has had the taste of ill-luck and misfortune in life, though the two of his aims passed unscathed through all the vicissitudes of war. It is matter for regret to his friends that death should have anticipated the celebration of his *Anniversary* which should have come off had he been spared to us just for a while longer. A higher destiny had willed it otherwise; let his soul rest in peace!

Next comes Mr. F. R. Pargiter, retired judge of the Calcutta High Court, then S. M. Edwards, another retired member of the Indian Civil Service, and lastly V. K. Rajwade, well-known among the labourers in the field of Marathi history. Rajwade's contributions lay perceptibly in collecting the material for a fuller history of the

Mahratta. This has hitherto been impossible to attempt with the material at our disposal. Edwardes was all his life a student of Indian history in all its sequestered branches, and an indefatigable worker. He was carried away in the prime of life for a European to the great loss of serious students of history. We remember the remark made by Lord Willingdon when he was Governor of Madras that Mr. Edwardes had intellectual qualifications which were a great asset to the service to which he belonged, and it was a great pity that he had to retire far sooner than his time owing to a kind of illness which made further continuance in office risky, and concluded that he was designed by nature and culture for a higher position than he was able to rise to by the time he was called on to give up office by the imperious demands of personal health.

F. B. Parghur also belonged to the ranks of the Indian Civil Service, but he came from Bengal, unlike Edwardes who belonged to Bombay. His interest in Indian history and culture exhibited itself in his work on the *Markandeyapurana*, which consisted of an edition and a translation for the *Swastika Series* issued by the Bengal Asiatic Society. He made the study of the *Purāṇas*, in their historical aspects, peculiarly his own, and his works bearing on the various aspects of that subject were many. Within recent times, he produced his classic on the subject in the dynasties of the Kuli Age, an authoritative version of the texts on the dynastic chapters of the *Purāṇas*, compared, collated, and correctly edited, the number of manuscripts compared being sometimes as many as over sixty. Without mentioning the various articles that he contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, his continued labours in the subject of what he called Kshatriya tradition as distinct from the Brahmanical, although perhaps he overdraw the distinction very much, culminated in his great work, *Ancient Historical Tradition*. He took an important part in the work of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and held some of its offices as Secretary, Member of Council, and Vice-President before he passed away in the fullness of age and achievement.

THE LATE MR. S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O., I.C.S.

It is a loss to Indian historical workers that Mr. Stephen Meredith Edwardes, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, and for some time

Joint Editor of *The Indian Anthology* should have died at the early age of fifty-four, on New Year's Day, 1927. Mr. Edwardes, being the son of a clergyman and an Oxford Don, was a student at Eton and later at Christchurch, Oxford and passed the examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1894. He entered service in the Bombay Presidency, becoming closely associated with the city, rising to be Commissioner of Police and then the Commissioner of the Corporation of the City. As early as 1904, Government appointed him a Special Collector under the Bombay Improvement Trust Act. He became truly acquainted thoroughly and at first-hand with the habits and customs of the heterogeneous elements of the City population, writing a number of papers and books on them 'becoming thus the greatest authority of his time on that famous city'. He was for a time the President of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, he compiled and edited the *Bombay City Gazetteer* and was connected with the drawing up of the *Bombay Census Report* in 1901. From out of his rich experience of the city he drew an interesting mass of materials and condensed them into a book—*The Bombay City Police. An Historical Sketch 1672-1916* (Oxford University Press 1916)—in which he clearly traced the great difficulty always experienced in that city, of preserving life and property. In the course of his Police Commissionership Mr. Edwardes accomplished much—'establishing the *Police Gazette*, issued three times daily with all details of recent crimes, setting up many new stations, teaching English to the Indian constabulary, controlling motor traffic and the Meera pilgrimage; improving the Finger-print Bureau; looking after derelict girl-children, and finally during the Great War clearing the City of undesirable'. He also wrote two other books on Bombay,—*The Rise of Bombay* and the *By-ways of Bombay*—which lifted the veil from many dark corners of the city's labyrinth and many dark steps in its expansion.

In 1918 after a short tenure of office as Municipal Commissioner, he retired² from service owing to ill-health, but continued in his retirement to do much literary and other work. He was Secretary for a time to the Indo-British Association started by Lord Sydenham to oppose the grant of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and was in 1921

² His services were well appreciated by Governors like Lord Sydenham and Lord Willingdon and he received a C.V.O. and a C.S.I. in recognition of his work.

one of India's representatives at the Geneva Conference on traffic in Women and Children.

Chosen as Joint-Editor of the *Indian Quarterly* in the beginning of 1923, he showed himself indefatigable in his writings and contributions to that Journal, taking up a large portion of its reviewing work, besides writing articles frequently. He was entrusted rightly enough by the Oxford University Press with the task of revising for a fourth edition the late Dr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*—a task which involved the sifting of all material accumulated by research and collation since 1914 when the third edition was published, while the archaeological excavations at Taxila and elsewhere necessitated the preparation of additional notes as well as slight chronological and other amendments in the text. Likewise Mr. Edvardes revised in 1923, Dr. Smith's *Oxford History of India*, his *magnus opus* in spite of its obvious defects in proportion and stress in places—though the work of revision here was comparatively small and consisted chiefly in correcting errors and adding new information. Particularly in the British period he had to put in various suggestions and amendments made by Dr. W. Crooke, C.I.E. and by Sir William Foster, the editor of documents in the India Office, like the series (in progress) *English Records in India*, which their expert knowledge of the history of the period had shown to be necessary.

Mr. Edvardes edited for the same publishers in two volumes the classical work on the *History of the Mahrattas* by J. G. Grant-Duff, which still continues to maintain its own authoritative reputation on many points. Shortly before his death he wrote a new book—*Babur, Durrani and Durrani* (published by A. M. Philpot, 1928) which is a clever and entertaining sketch of the great founder of the Mughal Empire, based largely on Mrs. A. B. Beveridge's translation of that monarch's amazingly modern diary. The quotations that Mr. Edvardes gives in this last book illustrate in an attractive manner the various phases of Babur's character and the many episodes of his romantic life.

Mr. Edvardes was thoroughly conversant in the folk-lore and intimate historical episodes of Western India—as seen in his account of Unaji Nalk, a Rampal Chief of Purandhar Fort and his rendering of an account, by a soldier of fortune, of the Marathas as they were at the close of the eighteenth century. He was an acknowledged authority

on the early history of Bombay and of the details of the evolution of its revenue and administrative organisation. His life was active and crowded with literary work up to the moment of death. During his last years especially, the output of books and articles from his pen was rapid and voluminous. Besides his association with *The Indian Antiquary*, he was closely connected with the Royal Asiatic Society of which he became the Secretary only a few months before his death.

C. S. SRINIVARACHARI

THE LATE MR V K RAJAVADE

Mr. V K Rajavade, M.A., who recently died of heart-failure at Dhule on January 11, 1927, at the age of sixty-two, was one of the greatest researchers, Maharashtra even produced. Many certainly excelled him in intelligence and careful handling of the subjects they chose to deal with. But none surpassed him in indefatigable industry and self-sacrifice.

He was educated at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and the Deccan College, Poona. He took his degree of M.A. from the latter in 1890. He started his career as a teacher for which perhaps he was ill-fitted and which at any rate was not congenial to him. He was fortunately chosen another line of action. He devoted himself with characteristic vigour to historical studies in which in the long run he won distinction. He took great pains in collecting original historical documents, *shaltars*, local *shikshayee*, often carrying loads of them on his shoulders and walking bare-footed. He made the first real efforts to rescue original historical papers in the possession of the *shahgirders* and private individuals. Many of them were actually being eaten by ants and so but for his unremitting efforts would have been inaccessible to posterity. By publishing them, he brought them within the reasonable reach of research students. To give the details within the scope of this notice is impossible.

Mr. Rajavade was a penniless man. He took pride in being so. When he was obliged to post not-paid letters, he made no secret of his inability to pay and often explained the fact frankly to the addressee.

He had a great self-sacrificing spirit for had he chosen to pass his days in luxury he could have secured a good job in the prime of his

life in happier circumstances he might conceivably have made a still greater collection, but on the other hand, a happier life might have deprived him of the incentive to write many later essays.

To the end he worked with undiminished strength of intellect. His contributions to several journals, which included many valuable papers, are too numerous to catalogue here. But his series of twenty-two historical volumes, embodying original letters and accounts, called by him *Ataṅga* (detached portions) are the most popular of his works. In addition, he found time to write papers such as his essay on Kāmakīya. Of late he was interesting himself in diverse subjects, such as philology, philosophy and ancient history.

Besides publishing many books, Mr. V. K. Rajwade induced other scholars to co-operate with him and work in his line. He inspired many a teacher with his enthusiasm for research.

Mr. Rajwade was one of the founders and was one of the main props of the Bhīrata-Itihāsa-Bāhādurbhān Māṇḍala of Poona, the well-known historical Society, which has in its possession some very valuable copperplate grants and numerous historical documents.

Mr. Rajwade had his unconquerable prejudices too. He was very eccentric. He was many a time carried away by his imagination.

At times he tried to show mastery over subjects to which he found no time to devote, and with no means to prosecute their studies. He tried to explain authoritatively certain eras and expressions in copperplates, which experts in India and on the Continent declared to be forgeries. Still Mr. Rajwade had not the good sense to yield.

Mr. Rajwade's volumes contain no index. The letters in them are neither properly sorted nor systematically arranged. But the material is there. The letters can be sorted now. Rajwade's volumes could have been conveniently much abridged. But the author could not be persuaded to do so in his lifetime. He was very sensitive on the point. It says much for his friends and publishers that they tolerated him as long, and as well, as they did.

Some of his volumes have become rare and must be reprinted. But before the work is undertaken, care must be taken to omit letters repeating information.

In his palmy days Mr. Rajwade was over-eagulous. The result was that he spent his energy in copying anonymous letters, which are neither

of interest nor of much use. Funds being limited a good many letters of special interest collected by him remain to be published.

He was a widower. He has left no issue.

The study of original letters was not only advanced but radically transformed by him. There can be little doubt that in spite of his oddities, he rendered enormous service to the history of the Marathas. His death is rightly mourned by Maratha writers on history.

Y. R. GUPTA.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

The Allahabad University Magazine

December, 1926—

DR. J. J. MODI. 'Oriental Studies' being the Presidential Address of the Fourth Oriental Conference, held at Allahabad on November 5, 1926.

MR. HAFIZ SYED. 'Optimism in Indian Thought'

MR. HAFIZ SYED. 'Khondah Alif Husayn Hall'

The Calcutta Review

January-February 1927—

MR. MAHENDRANATH SIRCAR. 'The Vedic Conception of God'

MR. HARIDAS DAS. 'The Affairs of India and Siam' being the hitherto unpublished despatch of the Judge of the Court of Admiralty to King James II written on the affairs of India in July 1688.

March 1927—

MR. J. CAMBRIDGE. 'The Story of the Persian Crownwell' an account of the life and achievements of Mir Irwazy, the Great Duke of Kandahar protector of the Persian Empire by a Swedish Officer, originally published in 1784

DR. C. V. RAMAN. 'The Promotion of Research in India'

Bengal Past and Present

VOL. XXXII. PART II

October-December, 1926—

MR. R. M. RAMNATHAN. 'Major-General Stringer Lawrence' being a note on the second of the three portraits which Gainsborough painted of the General who was the Father of the Indian Army and the master of Clive

MR. MOHAMMAD J. SETHI. 'Armenian Journalism in India' being a note on the Journal (*Asker-Intelligencer*) started in Madras in July 1794 by the Rev. Aramkoom Shumayon, the founder of modern Armenian Journalism.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 141

- B. N. BANERJEE 'The Mother of Nawab Shaj-ud-Daula'
 H. W. B. MUKHERJEE 'The Life of Lala Babu' A saint of Modern
 Bengal (1775-1821) and a disciple of the famous Vachaspathi
 Krishnadas Babaji
 M. B. N. BANERJEE 'The Mother of the Company'

The Mahasaya's College Magazine, Iainnagaram

VOLUME VI No. 2

January 1927—

- C. B. BRINIVARACHARI 'A Study in South Indian Ethnology
 Some features of Social Organisation'
 K. RANGACHARI 'Marriage and Legitimacy'
 K. R. SUBRAMANIAM IYER 'Jesus Christ—A Visvakarma Brah-
 man.'
 N. VENKAT RAO 'The Deity of Nannaya (Nadar Deva in Telugu)'

The Jaina Gazette

VOLUME XXIII No. 1

January 1927—

- B. A. SALTORG 'Modikhah—An Ancient Jain City of Talava'
 HIRALAL JAIN, 'Periods in the History of Jainism'
 R. D. JAIN 'The Attributes of the Soul'

The Vision-Bharati Quarterly

January 1927—

- PROF. CARLO FORMICHI 'The Dynamic Element in Indian Reli-
 gious Development'
 J. K. HAN 'Oriental Philosophy in the Light of Art.'
 CHAMPUPATI 'Kahir.'

The Museum Review (Calcutta)

VOLUME I. No. 2

October-December 1926—

- S. KRISHNA BAKSHI 'Harun-ar-Rashid.'
 B. DEB 'A Judgment of Sultan Shikandar Lodi.'
 MURDOCH J. SMITH 'Was the Calcutta "Black Hole" a myth?'
 A. F. M. AMJUL ALI 'The Punjab Records in the Imperial Record
 Department at Calcutta.'

The Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute

VOLUMES VIII. Part III

1925-27—

- PROF F. BODDERTON 'The Hour of Death' A note on its importance for man's future fate in Hindu and Western religions
- M. T. PATWARDHAN 'Persian Prosody'
- H. G. BENGALI. 'The Main Outlines of the History of Dinkhuta'
- PROF B. K. BILVALKAR. Translation of 'Senart's Introduction to the *Shagunad Gita*'
- PANDIT P. BHARMA 'Historical Position of Nema Deva I

The Modern Review

January 1927—

- PROF. B. K. BARKAR 'A Preface to the Hindu Categories of International Law, Section 4.'
- C. T. MODI. 'The Kadya Kanbis and their peculiar Marriage Customs.'

February 1927—

- A. V. TRAMKAR 'The Aboriginal Tribes of India.'
- RANJIT PANDIT 'Buddhist Remains in Afghanistan.'
- B. N. BAWRETHA 'The College of Fort William.'
- PROF. J. N. BARKAR 'The Historian V. K. Rajwade.'

March 1927—

- M. P. N. MAJUMDAR 'The Shils of Gujarat.'
- A. K. MAJUMDAR. 'A Theistic Interpretation of Samkhya Philosophy'

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research

VOLUME IV No. 11, 1926

The Anglo-American Conference of Historians in 1926.
Migration of Historical Manuscripts.

Indian Antiquary

January 1927—

- C. S. BHENIVARACHARI 'The Promotion of Dravidian Linguistic Studies in the Company's Days.' Read in the Indian Historical Records Commission, at the Lahore Session. Brings out the part played by the East India Company, in promoting the Dravidian

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 135

Linguistic Studies in Tamil, Telugu, Canarose and Malayalam and enumerates a number of works produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in South India.

R. R. HALDER 'Yasodhaya's Perambler and Her Inscription'
February 1927—

MUHAMMAD ISMAIL 'Hittite Inscriptions from the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay

H. M. JONKSON 'Nyetambha Jama Iconography' This supplies the need of a Nyetambha corollary to the contribution of Burgess on the Diganbha Jama iconography

M. H. GOPAL 'The Date of Asoka's Rock Edicts'

Journal of the American Oriental Society

VOLUME XLVI No 4

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD 'On Vedic Dialect,' "Plays," "Song,"

Ceylon Journal of Science (Archæology)

VOLUME I PART-III

A. M. HOCANT 'Archæological Summary' Notes on Ceylon Architecture, and bas-reliefs with twenty-one plates.

A. M. HOCANT 'On the Origin of the Tpe' The Shatapatha Brahmana is cited to support the view that the tpe represents the universe consisting of the earth, atmosphere, and the vault of heaven, surrounded by the region of the sun and the moon, and the abode of the Gods.

A. M. HOCANT 'The Throne in Indian Art'. discusses the probable motif in the lotus, lion and the diamond throne, in South India and Ceylon

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

January 1927—

O. C. GANGOLY 'The Cult of Agastya and the Origin of Indian Colonial Art', Traces the movement of Agastya Cult into the regions of Further India.

B. SOMASUNDARA DEHTAN 'Gandhariditya.' Asserts that this saint-king ascended the throne in A. D. 948 and ruled till 956 when he was killed by Virra Pandya.

*Journal of the Asiatic Historical Research Society**January 1927—*

- G. V. BHATNAGAR. 'The Korti Copper plate grants of Anantavarman Chodoganga.'
- B. K. RAMANATHA SASTRIAR. 'Bhavabhuti and his identity.' Considers that evidence is favourable to the identity of Bhavabhuti with Umapada, Buresvara and Visvarupa.
- H. HERRAS. 'Who were the Baulkas?' Identifies the Baulkas of the Harsha Inscription of Isanavarman with the Cholas of South India.
- R. SRINIVASARAOPIA AITANGAR. 'Coins of Kavaliyadavallu Treasure Trove Case.' In the course of the contribution the writer points out that mints existed at Nellore and Kanakpuram which issued the coin described.
- M. RAMAKRISHNAIAH. 'Tayasaivatanraja.' Gives a short account of this important unpublished work with extracts, from photographic copy obtained from Europe.

*Indian Historical Quarterly**December 1926—*

- L. FROST. 'Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China.' traces the main lines of the History of Buddhism in Annam, British Malaya, Siam, Cambodia and Burma the East and Western part of Indo-China.
- S. C. SINGH GUPTA. 'Stage of Bednore, 1783.' Translated from Tipu Sultan's Memoirs in the India Office Library and accounts of two English eye-witnesses.
- N. L. DIX. 'Rasatala.' Concluding portion of the series on Rasatala which the author endeavours to identify with Central Asia. Besides tradition, a comparison of the physical features of the country and the condition of the people of Rasatala as described in the Hindu works and as recorded in the Avesta and the works of travellers support the identity. The author cites the similarity of the following.—Bhogavali, Bakhidi, Akon, Asma, Bal-Alaya, Balh, Manmayi, Maymeai, etc., and regards that the similarity in the names of towns, rivers and mountains is not accidental.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 177

Journal of Oriental Research

January 1937—

- 8 KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI. 'Problems of Identity in the Cultural History of Ancient India.' In this portion of the contribution the writer identifies Āchārya Sundara Pandya with Kubja Pandya and assigns him to c. 500 A.D. As an alternative it is also suggested that Āchārya Sundara Pandya is perhaps identical with Tirumallin Sarabandam himself contemporary of Kusa Pandya. This inference that Āchārya Sundara Pandya was one of the earliest makers of the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* and that Kumāṇila and Bāṅkara derived much valuable material from his *Pratīka*, it is held cannot any longer be considered debatable. This contribution should be read along with that of Āchārya Sundara Pandya by B. G. Subramanya Sarma in the first number of *Jigujāna*.
- B. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI. 'Bhadrata.' Seeks to derive the root of this expression from Bhad conveying the sense 'to be auspicious or happy.'
- O. K. ANANTALAKSHMI. 'Indra the Rigvedic Ātman.'
- E. A. SANKARAN. 'Kṛtaka's attitude towards the theories of Devanī and Rasi.'
- K. G. SUBRAMANYAM. 'The Authorship of Upaniṣads.' It is held that the existing list of Upaniṣads could not be wholly ascribed to Śaṅkasyana's authorship. Additions were made by grammatical writers after Pāṇini, the Upaniṣads being Upaniṣadyan and Post-Pāṇinyan but never Pāṇinyan.
- T. R. CHINTAMANI. 'The Date of Śrīkṛṣṇa and his Brahma-Mīmāṃsā.' This is an attempt to prove that the view that Śrīkṛṣṇa was a contemporary of Bāṅkara is wrong and that he was long posterior to Rāmānuja and flourished after the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era.
- A. B. KRISHNA RAO. 'The Place of Prastāpāda and Dīghāga in the evolution of Vyākṛti.'
- A. V. VENKATARAMA AIVAN. 'The Vyākṛtas and their identification.' The writer examines the position and identity of Vyākṛtarāja of Mahābhāṣya, Vyākṛta of the Uśohakalpa dynasty and Vyākṛtadeva of Gauḍ and Nachiketa inscriptions and after discussing present views attempts to indicate the trend of Vyākṛta history, and chronology, in a new light.

Jangam

VOL. I, PART I

- K. H. RAMASWAMI HASTRI. 'Elements of Realism and Idealism in the Philosophy of Bankaracharya'
- K. G. NAIKIA SASTRI. 'The Vrittikāra' Considers on the 'strength of various reasons that the Bodhāyana of the Vaishnavas is not the Upasvāda of the *advaita*, that the Vrittikāra pre-supposed by the Bankara School cannot be the Bhagvāda Upasvāda, that the views of Bodhāyana, the Vrittikāra of the Vaishnavas do not agree with those of the Vrittikāra of the Bankara School and that Bodhāyana must have come after Bankaracharya
- B. G. SUBRAMANYA SHARMA Sets forth reasons to prove that Āchārya Śrīnivāsa Pandya could not be Kān Pandya or Tīrthuvāna Sambandar as suggested by Prof. Kuppuswami Hastri in the first number of the *Journal of Oriental Research*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

December 1926—

- H. HENRI: 'Relation between the Guptas, Kadambas and Vakatakas.'
- M. GANGOULI: 'A Survey of Indian Architecture.'
- N. C. MENYA: 'The Pictorial Motif in Ancient Indian Institutions.'
- A. BANERJEE-SASTRI: 'Āsura Institutions'
- M. N. RAY. 'Outcastes in Ancient Indian Society.'

Journal of the Department of Letters

CALCUTTA, VOL. XIV

- N. C. CHATTERJEE. 'The Conception of Positive Law in Ancient India.'
- JYOTIRGHOSH CHATTERJEE. 'The Date of *Aśvakaśhatika* from Astrological Data.' Arrives at the conclusion from the references to the Yavana and the prevalence in full force of the conception of the Māra-Jupiter adversary system that the third and the second centuries is the lowest possible limit for the *Aśvakaśhatika*.
- L. V. RAMASWAMI AIVAN. 'A Brief Account of the Malayalam Prosody.'
- BRUCE HANNAH. 'Problems of the Ancient Egyptian Chronology.'

- H. C. RAY 'Notes on War in Ancient India.' In the portion published the writer deals with the subject in three sections devoted to (1) the influence of Indian geography on wars and military movements, (2) the Army, (3) Numerical strength of Indian Armies. The subject is to be concluded in a subsequent instalment which is promised.
- N. K. MAJUMDAR 'Laghunamam of Murugala' Gives a brief account of Laghunamam of Murugala, a Karma-Grantha.
- P. C. BANERJEE 'On the Puryas.' Proves that the Puryas of the Jains were not completely lost but were gradually accumulated in the present canonical literature of the Jains in the course of its developments.
- T. DASGUPTA, 'Aspects of Bengali Society' Deals with the various aspects of Bengali Society such as, art, warfare, costume, architecture, etc.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

January 1927—

- F. W. THOMAS 'Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkistan' This contribution illustrates the importance of the treasures of Sir Aurel Stein recovered from the sands of the Chinese Turkistan. The writer here discusses the importance of one of the Tibetan Manuscripts unearthed from the famous hidden library of Tun-huang. It relates to the Hsien people who occupy an obscure position in history.
- B. LANEWOOD 'Six Babylonian and Assyrian Seals'
- A. H. SAYCE 'Hittite Legends.'
- W. H. MORSELAND 'The Mogul Unit of Measurement'

Bengal Past and Present

VOL. XXXIII, PART I

- K. COTTON: 'The Early Life of Warren Hastings'
- N. K. BHATTASALI 'The English Factory at Decan'
- M. J. BEHN 'The Hindoos in Armenia 150 Years before Christ. Gives a brief account of the Hindu colony which existed in Armenia and flourished from the middle of the second century B.C. to the middle of the fourth century A.D. The authority of Zoroaster's *History of Persia* is relied on.

